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[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL. XIII OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

VOLUME THIRTEEN: 1986

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MYSORE

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Secretary and Executive Editor

Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer

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EDITORIAL

From the twelfth annual Congress at Jabalpur (28th February to 1st March, 1986) to the thirteenth Annual Congress at Patna, the Epigraphical society of India continues to march ahead in its path of progress. Due to certain unforeseen circumstances faced by the host institution, the society could not conduct its annual meeting at Patna on the originally fixed dates (27th March to 1st April 1987). This undoubtedly has caused great inconvenience and hardship to many of the members of the society who have long planned to attend the conference. We offer at the outset our sincere apologies to them for their inconvenience. We are sure that the members of the society will make it convenient to attend the Patna conference in large numbers as soon as they receive the intimation regarding the revised dates and make it a grand success. True indeed is the aphorism *'srēyāṁsi bahu-vighnāni'*.

We mourn the sad demise of Prof. G.R. Sharma, one of the doyens among India archaeologists who has to his credit several important excavations conducted in such historic places like Kauśāmbī. He was associated with our society and was its honorary fellow. We miss him much.

In the year gone by, one of the important developments that took place which will hearten the votaries of epigraphy was the inaguration and successful conduct of a short term intensive course on epigraphy for inservice personal/research students/lecturers in epigraphy, indology or allied subjects in the Institute of Archaeology at New Delhi under the aegis of Archaeological Survey of India. The Course Director was Dr. K.V. Ramesh, and the duration of the course was about eight weeks. As many as thirtyeight candidates hailing from various parts of the country and serving as technical assistants or lecturers or research students attended the course. Many eminent epigraphists from different parts of the country were invited to deliver lectures on various aspects of epigraphy. Judging from the good response this short term course on epigraphy has evoked as evidenced by the record number of participants, it is to be hoped that very soon a full term post graduate diploma course in epigraphy of 18 or 24 months duration will be started by the Archaeological Survey of India. This, we are sure will go a long way in meeting the present crunch of getting the required personal trained in epigraphy.

The year 1987 is noteworthy as it marks the centenary of the founding of the epigraphy branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. Needless to say that this is the only premier institution in the country exclusively devoted to epigraphical studies/research. In its hundred years of useful existence, it has made silent but significant contribution to epigraphical/indological studies in the country and thereby to a better understanding of the country's glorious past. We offer our salutations and greetings to the epigraphy branch on its centenary and we pray for

its continued growth and progress and the fulfillment of its cherished plans and goals.

In the year under review, a few books on Indian Epigraphy were published. The Central Institute of Indian Languages has brought out a handy volume by name 'An introduction to Indian Epigraphy' written by the veteran epigraphist Dr. G. S. Gai., Coming as it is from the pen of an eminent epigraphist, we are sure that this will be a useful compendium to students on Indian Epigraphy.

We have great pleasure to present the thirteenth volume of the journal of the society. We have tried to include as many articles as possible in this volume. We are deeply grateful to our Chairman Dr. S.H. Ritti for giving us timely advice in the working of the society. We are equally beholden to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) for his constant encouragement and help. We are also grateful to the Chief Epigraphist Shri Madhav N· Katti, who is also the Society's Vice Chairman for his help. We would be failing in our duty if we do not mention the help we have received from our treasurer Dr. Venkatesha who has always been systematic in maintaining the accounts of the society and giving us the necessary funds whenever required. We thank Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist and Dr. C. R. Srinivasan, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for the help we have received in checking the proofs. Last but not the least, we offer our thanks to Shri S.K. Lakshminarayana and his brilliant assistant Shri R. Venkatesh of the Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House, Mysore for the nice and careful printing of the volume.

Let us conclude with the society's motto '*Vṛiddhir-astu*'.

S. Subramonia Iyer

Secretary and Executive Editor

IN MEMORY OF

PROF. G. R. SHARMA

FORMERLY PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN
HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD,
ALLAHABAD AND HONORARY FELLOW,
EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

XIIIth Annual Congress of Epigraphical Society of India

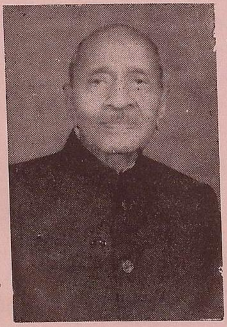
Venue : PATNA

Host : K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute

General President :

Shri R. Tirumalai I.A.S. (Retd.)

Formerly Member, Economic Administration Reforms Commission, Held various important posts in the government of Tamil Nadu and government of India ; was Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow. Author of books like Studies in the History of Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai, Rajendra Vinnagar etc and several articles.



Scholar to be honoured

Dr. Harihar Vitthal Trivedi M.A.D.Litt

Formerly Deputy Director, Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh ; edited Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. VII (parts I–III) containing inscriptions of Chandellas of Jējākabhukti, Paramāras, Kachchhapaghātas etc., Author of books like Catalogue of coins of Nāga kings of Padmāvatī, Catalogue of the W. Kshatrapa coins of the Hyderabad Museum and several articles.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

V. S. Pathak

Dhvaniḥ varṇaḥ padaṁ vākyaṁ yasyāḥ rūpaṁ chatushṭayam ।

rēkhā-varṇamayīṁ nityāṁ vāgdēvīṁ tāṁ= upāsmahē ॥

Śrīmad-Rājabalīṁ mūrdhnā Pāṇḍēyaṁ guru-vigraham ।

natvā śrēyaskaraṁ ch = aitat Lēkha-śāstraṁ vitanyatē ॥

Yō Hōśiṁga-purē Purātatva-taṭē nītvā navīnaṁ vayaḥ ।

Gaṁgā-rōdhasi labdhavān = nirupamaṁ jyōtis = tu sārasvataṁ ॥

Kāśī-vallabha-pāda-pallava-ratir = Gōraksha-kshētrāṁtikāt ।

sō = 'haṁ tē śiśur = āgataḥ punar = api tvāṁ Narmadē pātu māṁ ॥

I am extremely grateful to the members and the executive committee of the Epigraphical Society of India for the honour conferred on me by electing me as the President of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Society at Jabalpur. Sanctified by the breezes of the holy Narmadā, Jabalpur stands out as the shining symbol of the assimilative capacity of Indian culture, which could absorb and sublimate even the Zaublas of Hūṇa association. The city, thus, provides a suitable setting to the deliberations of society, engaged in the study and researches in Indian epigraphy, which has incorporated elements from various cultures. Indeed, what do they know of Indian epigraphy, who only epigraphy of India know? Elements of Indian epigraphy are lying scattered not only over the various parts of the Asian continent, but also in Egypt and Meso-America. Graffiti on pot-sherds in Brāhmī characters from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. are discovered in Egypt. But, what is much more important, what is pregnant with serious implications for the history of the world, is the reported discovery of an inscription written in south East Asian variety of Brāhmī of the eighth century A.D. on a piece of stone fixed in the door-sill of a church in the Mexican sea-port of Tihuosuco on the Atlantic ocean, referring to a *mahā-nāvika*. The inscription requires a careful and critical study. It, however, appears that this small record bears the mute and yet eloquent testimony to the adventures of a forgotten *mahā-nāvika* of Indian origin who traversing South East Asia ferried across the Pacific ocean and reached America in the eighth century A.D. Since long, it was suspected that various art motifs including the Aztec insignia of an eagle holding snakes in both hands found in Tevtihuacan and elsewhere, the Indian style of hair-dressing with hanging braids, arranged in beautiful plaits by the pre-Hispanic charming damsels of Mexico, and tortilla were of Indian origin or inspiration. The epigraph, under discussion, is calculated to confirm the theory and add a new dimension to the history

of Meso-America. It seems that America was discovered not by Columbus but by an Indian navigator, about seven hundred years before him. Very important are the new finds of graffiti in chiklas in the Hunza ranges of Pakistan, which may, now, prove beyond doubt the conquest of Bactria by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya.

I may also mention here the modern trend reflected in recent works on Indian palaeography which tends to turn a Nelson's eye towards the Vēdic evidence, and reconstruct the history of Indian scripts on the basis of inferences drawn merely from the forms of letters. The idea underlying the trend probably arises from the supposition that the Vēdic Indians were non-literate, and hence the Vēdic hymns cannot justifiably become the source for the history of scripts. The argument, however, suffers from the fallacy of postulating the premise which requires to be proved. The trend may hamper study and researches in the early reaches of Indian palaeography. Commendable work has been done in recent years on Dravidian palaeography which has taken quite a few strides.

I here propose to discuss the origin of alphabetic scripts in India and to draw attention to epigraphs either in Indo-Aryan speech or having a bearing on the history of India from the Caspian sea to the Indus Valley. The discussion is bound to be perfunctory. Howsoever unsatisfactory it may be, if it attracts the attention of scholars to this dimension of Indian epigraphy, I shall feel amply awarded.

The script which enables the vocable to transcend the transitoriness of speech was in ancient world characterised by two types of techniques- the *arpaṇa* (engraving) and the *piśavarṇa-mēla* (colour). Both of them may be traced back to the prehistoric times when they were employed for the graphic art. The dawn of history synchronises with their application to the writing of ideograms, syllabaries or alphabets.

The seer of the *Atharva-vēda* (12.3.22) underlines the importance of *arpaṇa*, when he states that "whatever has been made to shine has been incised with an *arpaṇa*, the engraving instrument. Through the sacred word I sow (the seed of knowledge), so that it may not leak out." *Arpaṇa* from *the Indo-European word* $\sqrt{\text{reip}}$ = Greek *ereipo* means a stylus. *Ripa*, the clay-tablet on which the engraving is done by the *arpaṇa* is also mentioned in the *Ṛigvēda* (10.79.3), where the Indus Valley motif of the creeper springing from the womb of the Mother Earth is graphically described.

The colour technique of writing is an extension of the art of painting. The *Ṛigvēda* (1.191.4) describes a painting-

Ni gāvō gōshṭhē asadanni mṛigāsō avikshata ।

ni kētavō janānāṁ nya dṛishṭvā alipsata ॥

"Cows are resting in the pen. Cattle are, well settled. Underneath shining figures indicative of men are painted."

The use of the root *lip* in the context of painting is interesting, since the

word *lipi* a little later began to be used in the sense of a script. The linguistic phenomenon of the change from √rip to √lip is a striking parallel to the transformation of the engraving into the colour technique of writing. In Achaemenian inscriptions *piśa* is used in the sense of writing for example, *dipiya naiya nipishṭam* (DB,4.47) "has not been inscribed in the inscription" (Kent p.132) *Piśa*, Sanskrit and Old Persian, *piklvs* Greek, *pingire* Latin convey the connotation of colour, though in Achaememian inscriptions, it is expressly employed in the sense of engraving the Cuneiform script.

These two techniques gave rise to two different types of books- *grantha* and *pavasta* < *pusta*. The word *grantha* means 'a bunch tied together by a knot', and *pavasta* 'a cover for clay-tablets or wooden boards.' In Achaemenian inscriptions, both terms occur together *utā pavastā ayā utā charmā grathitā* (DB,4,89) 'On clay-tablets and on parchments composed'. The word *pavasta* occurs in the *Ṛigvēda* (10.27.7) as also in the *Atharva-vēda* (4.7.6), but merely in the sense of a coverlet. Sir Harold Bailey connects it from √*pau* 'to besmear' (*the Dictionary of Khotan Saka* p.237), but its derivation from *apa+vasta* Latin *vestis*, Sanskrit *vas* 'to wear' is preferable. Bhaguri enjoins the ellision of the initial vowel in *ava* and *apa* prefixes - *vashṭi Bhāgurir=allōpam = avāpayōr = utsargayōḥ*. *Avestā* (*apa+vasta*) i.e., *pavasta* was a book par excellence of ancient Iranians.

The technique of preparing *grantha* was known to the Vēdic Aryans who described the *Paṇis* as *mṛidhra-vach* and *grathin* (*RV* 7.6.3). As we have noted elsewhere, the first adjective means *blythos* √*blas* (*mṛidhra*) - *phemy* (*vach*), and the second relates to the predilection of the *Paṇis* for carrying records with them. The *Paṇis* were traders and usurers, and naturally they had to keep record by way of rememberance of transactions. The *Nirukta* stresses the importance of *grantha* as a device to memory and understanding -

upadēśēna mantrān = sampradur = upadēśaya glāyantō = 'varē bilma - grahaṇāy = ēmaṁ granthaṁ samāmnāsishuḥ ।

"Spoken instructions fade way. For their understanding at a later stage the sages incorporated them in books.'

The Achaemenian inscription uses the past passive participle *granthita* exactly in this sense- "composed in the form of a book."

Connected with the techniques of writing are the terms for scripts in Indo-Iranian languages- *dipi* and *lipi*. Almost all Iranists - Pisani, Shaftlovitz, Henning, Kent etc. regard *dipi* as a loan-word from Summerian *dup* < Assyrian < *duppu* and Elam < *tipi*, *tiba*. They further derive *lipi* from *dipi* with the change of *da* to *la*.

The view that *lipi* is derived from the Persian *dipi* Semitic *dup/duppu* is wholly untenable. The process of engraving words succeeded by the writing in the form of painting is well attested by the Vēdic derivatives of the root *reip* = *rip* (to tear), followed by words connected with *lip* (to paint), and (to write with

ink). As we have noted earlier, *lip* is used even in the *Ṛigvēda* in the sense of painting.

I wonder whether *dipi* is a loan-word from the Semetic languages; whether the phonetic similarity is just not accidental. The Vēdic evidence associates writing and speech with the root *div-dip* (to shine) from which *dipi* may be derived. The *Atharva-vēda* expressly states "whatever is made to shine has been incised with an engraver"–

Yad = yad dyuttaṁ likhitam = arpaṇēna (12.3.22)

The *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (15.4) mentions *kshura-bhrājaś = chhandaḥ-* "a metrical composition which shines and which is engraved with a knife." That this has a reference to the script is confirmed by words *pada-pankti* 'the row of alphabets' mentioned in its collocation. In this context, the Vēdic references to 'shining language' *dyumatī-vāch* (*RV* 10.98. 2;3 101.7; etc) as also *vididyutānō aksharē* 'fire sparkling in the alphabet' (*RV* 6.16.35) may be considered. The evidence strongly suggests that *dipi* was a method of writing current amongst the Aryans probably at the Indo-Iranian stage.

Words for the alphabet, (*akshara* the (imperishible) and *varṇa* (the colourful, again betoken respectively the influence of writing techniques of the *arpaṇa* and the ink. *Akshara*, when written sheds away the evanescent character of speech –

N=ākshīyatē tasmād=akshayam ।
Akshayaṁ ha vai nām=aitat ।
Tad = aksharaṁ = iti parōksham =-āchakshatē । *J.up.Br*, (7,2,2)

"It does not perish and hence it is *akshaya*. Indeed *akshaya* it is. In the mystic style it is designated as *akshara*." *Akshara* is the irreducible unit of the language (*op. cit* 1.1.). It is different from syllable, which is formed by more than one *akshara* –

Ekasmād = aksharam = anāptaṁ padam
T.S. (5.1.9.1.)

lOne *akshara* cannot constitue *pada*, the syllable'. The discovery of *akshara* revolutionized the phonetics and palaeography. The language both in the written as well as in the spoken form is constituted by *akshara* –

Aksharēṇa mimatē sapta vāṇīḥ
RV. (1.164.24)

"Seven (i.e.all) kinds of speeches are fashioned through a letter".

The language is comprehensible only to those who know the *askshare*:

Ṛichō aksharē paramē vyōman yasmin dēvā adhi viśvē nishēduḥ ।

Yas=tan=na vēda kiṁ=ṛichā karishyati ya = it = tad vidus=ta imē sam=āsatē ॥ (1.164.39).

'What can a hymn do to him who does not know *akshara*, the letter in the supreme heaven in which the gods are seated? Only those who know it are sitting here together in discussion."

The linguistic-metaphysical speculations in the Vēdas underlying the principle of *akshara*, which is the ultimate measure of *vāk* and from which all formulae start cannot be elaborated here. Suffice it to say in the words of J.A.B.

Van Buitenen that "already in the *Ṛigvēda Saṁhitā*, *akshara* claims the position of the supreme principle, without however for a moment ceasing to mean 'syllable' (*Akshara*, *JAOS*, 79,p.177).

Here, it may be noted that the discovery of the alphabet took place in India in the earlier stages of the early Vēdic age, several centuries before the first millennium of the Christian era. Nonetheless palaeographers continue to attribute the discovery of the alphabets to Ugarits and the Canannites. The Akhiram sarcophagus found at Byblos may be placed at the most in the eleventh century B.C., and the Ugaritic alphabets in the sixteenth century before the Christian era. In India, on the other hand, the linguistic-philosophical speculations rather in a developed form had started quite early in the early Vēdic age. Indian *akshara* is, therefore, as old as, if not anterior to the Ugaritic alphabet.

The technique of writing *vyañjanas* may be safely inferred from the Vēdic references to *añji*, the distinctive mark painted in colour on sacrificial pots, the bodies of the sacrificial priests, on the forehead of the maidens and on the representations of deities especially the Marutas. *Añji* is closely associated with *akshara*. 'Om' is described as the primeval *akshara* as also the priestine *añji*. Vyañjana (*vi*+*añj*) and *añji* are derived from the same root.

For painting *añjis*, mineral colours were mixed with the milk of cows –

Vācham=ashṭāpadīm=ahaṁ navasaktim=utaspṛiśam ।
gobhirvāṇor=ajyatē (*RV.* 8.20.8). Brushes were prepared out of reeds called *sara* and *kusarasa* or from *darbha* and *virina* grasses tied into tufts with *muñja* and *sairi* (*RV.* 1.191.4).

With the discovery of *akshara*, the syllabic script changed into the alphabetic. The transformation was, however, gradual. The *Ṛigvēda* refers both to the *pada* language as well as to the *akshara*-language –

Vācham=ashṭāpadīm=ahaṁ navasaktim=utaspṛiśam । (8.76.12).

Sahasṛiṇī upāksharā vāk (7.16.9).

Vākēna vākaṁ dvipadā chatushpadā aksharēṇa mimatē sapta vāṇīḥ । (1.164.21).

Gaurīr = mimāya salitāni takshaty = ēkapadī dvipadī sā chatushpadī ।

ashṭāpadī navapadī bhavūgushī sahasr=āksharā paramē vyōman ॥ (1-164-41).

In this context, I would like to draw attention to the discovery of an extraordinarily important inscription by Dr. S. R. Rao, the former President of the Epigraphical Society of India. An inscribed jar of the post- Harappan fabric was found in the inter-tidal zone of the Bēṭ Dvārakā island by the second marine archaeological expedition of the Natural Institute of Oceanography. According to Dr. Rao "the contents of the jar must have been offered to the sea-god Varuṇa, whose temple is situated at the entrance to the ancient harbour of Dvārakā".

Seven letters are found inscribed on the neck. The short epigraph has been

deciphered by Dr. Rao and an eye copy of the inscription is printed in the Times of India. It is indeed hazardous to build a theory merely on the basis of an eye-copy but in view of the tremendous importance of the find, I comment pending careful scrutiny of the original. With due deference to him, I humbly offer my alternative reading and interpretation on the basis of the eye-copy published in the daily news-paper. To me it seems that three of the letters of this inscription are identical with those of the Aśōkan Brāhmī, two with the Semetic-Aramaic alphabet, one similar to the Harappan ideograph and the Aśōkan Brāhmī and the remaining, a conjunct, represents the pre-Aśōkan Brāhmī-Kharōshṭhī form. The reading which I tentatively propose is *mahaḥ pra* y(*a*) *ja sa.* If my decipherment of the inscription is correct, the discovery will assume great importance for the religious history of the Vēdic period, beside the unique significance for the history of the origin and development of the alphabetic script in India.

The inscription seems to contain a reference to the *mahatsūkta* of the *Ṛigvēda* (10.51), which is in the form of a dialogue between Varuṇa and other gods on the one hand and the fire-god on the other. The three elder brothers of fire-god were slain by Vajra in the form of *vashaṭkāra* while they were carrying oblation to gods. The fire-god was, therefore, scared of the responsibility of carrying oblations, and to avoid it, concealed himself in waters. In the absence of the carrier of oblations, gods became famished. Fishes revealed to gods the place of his concealment. Led by Varuṇa, gods came and entreated fire-god to resume the role of the carrier. To assuage his hurt feelings, gods promised that pre-sacrificial offerings as well as post-sacrificial offerings will be made exclusively to fire-god –

Tava prayājā anuyājāś=cha kēvala ūrjasvantō havishaḥ । (*RV*. 10.51.9)

Fire-god eventually relented and accepted the offer of gods. The story is retold in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (2.6.6) and other Vēdic works. The find-spot of the jar and a reference to *prayāja* in the inscription (of course, if my reading is accepted) will indicate that the contents of the jar was the pre-sacrificial offering to the fire-god in the sea.

At any rate, the short inscription bears unmistakable testimony to the development of the alphabetic script in India in the post Harappan period. That a few letters show similarity to the Semetic whereas others to the Harappan ideograms and the Brāhmī-Kharōshṭhī *aksharas* admit of little doubt.

This leads us to the difficult problem of the relationship of the Harappan ideographic- syllabic form of writing with the alphabetic scripts of Brāhmī and Kharōshṭhī. The problem is further bedevilled by the associated question of the language of the Harappan inscriptions. It is impossible here to review critically the entire range of literature produced by the Scandanavian Institute of Asian studies, Copenhagen, the Miklucho-Miklai Institute of Ethnography, Leningrad, and the brilliant researches of Dr. S.R. Rao, Shri

I. Mahadevan, Dr. John E. Mitchner and others. Leaving the problem as it is, I would like to point out that there is sufficient evidence to support the view that the Vēdic Aryans were conversant with the art of writing. I may further state that there is a distinct possibility of their using the syllabic form of writing called the *pada-vāk* in the *Ṛigvēda*, which gradully changed into the *akshara-vāk* or the alphabetic script. In this context, such pieces of archaeological evidence as indicating the similarity between the Brāhmī-Kharōshṭhī scripts and the Harappan signs on one side and the Brāhmī-Kharōshṭhī scripts and the Semetic on the other have to be considered. The Bēṭ Dvārakā jar inscription, discussed above, and similar short epigraphs from Rangpur and Daimabad require careful study.

To proceed with the discussion, I venture to state that the two alphabetic scripts known in India Brāhmī and Kharōshṭhī, are indicative respectively of the Bharata-puru and the Dasa-Dahae traditions.

The phonetic and grammatical structure of the Vēdic language received enough attention of the Vedicists. Its cultural-ethnic context, however, is not properly studied. There were three dialects of the Vēdic speech, the Aila, the Sārasvata and the Bhāratī. They were represented by three speech goddesses, invoked frequently in the *Ṛigvēda* (3.4.8; 7.2.8. etc.) In the context of the three speeches, the Brāhmī is specifically mentioned –

Tisrō vācha udīratē gāvō mimanti dhēnavaḥ । Harir=ēti kanidrakam । Abhi-Brahmīr=anūshata *RV*. (9.33.4-5)

The Bhāratī dialect was the speech *par excellence* of the Vēdic people and hence it was identified with the Brāhmī and later with the *ārya-bhāshā*.

I have elsewhere pointed out the Vēdic parallels in the *Mahābhārata* containing references to the Brāhmī speech which clearly demonstrate the association of the Vēdic people with the Brāhmī-speech. Even Amarasiṁha, the lexicographer of the Gupta period states :-

Brāhmī tu Bhāratī-bhāshā

The Jaina commentary on the *Bhagavatī-sūkta* explains the Brāhmī designation for the speech and script by inventing a sister of Bharata, by name Brāhmī.

The Vēdic association of the Brāhmī speech can hardly be denied.

The Kharōshṭhī is almost unanimously regarded as the cursive modification of the Aramaic script affected during the Achemenian domination over Sind and Gāndhār. It is true that both of them are written from right to left. But there is some evidence that there was a tradition of Brāhmī also being written from right to left. As many as thirty-nine Ceylonese inscriptions in Brāhmī written from right to left have been published by Dr. S. Parnavitana. In addition, eight records in Ceylon have been discovered which were written in the boustrophedon style of writing. Dr. Parnavitana observes, "We have elsewhere demonstrated that the introduction of Indo-Aryan culture to Ceylon, and its settlement by a people

of Indo-Aryan speech, were due to the enterprise of merchant adventurers. It is quite probable that the leaders of these bands of merchant adventurers were literate, and therefore, the art of writing was practised in Ceylon before the advent of the Buddhist missionaries in the time of Aśōka". (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, vol. I, p.XXII). Thus there was an early tradition of Brāhmī being written from right to left. The similarity of the Aramaic and Kharōshṭhī in respect of the direction of writing may not, therefore, necessarily indicate the influence of Aramaic on Kharōshṭhī. Further, the vowel and consonental systems of Aramaic and the Prakrits written in Kharōshṭhī materially differ. There are only twenty-two signs for consonants in Aramaic as against thirty-two in Kharōshṭhī. Out of them only four *n*, *b*, *r* and *v* show similarity. Prof. C.D. Chatterji, therefore, observes" diversities are greater in number than similarities *in Aramaic and Kharōshṭhī scripts* (italics ours). We believe that in course of their migration through Asia Minor from Central Europe, the Aryans become acquainted with the Semitic style of writing and had evolved independently a system of writing (Kharōshṭhī), during their long period of settlement in Afghanistan." (*D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume*, 1982; p.214).

For explaining the scant similarity between the Aramaic and the Kharōshṭhī, we need not, however, postulate Western Europe as the original habitat of the Indo-Europeans.

The name Kharōshṭhī is interesting as it affords a clue to its origin. *Kshera* meaning country is a Śaka word found in the Khotan-Śaka and the Tumsuq Śaka languages. It is derived from the Indo-European word ksei < Skt. kshi to dwell. The second part of the name *osta* is formed from *pavasta* with the elision of *pa* and change of *va* - kshera + pavasta < avasta > osta = ksherosta. Kharoshta is the Sanskritized form. Pavasta as we have seen is *apavasta* meaning a book. Ksherosta, therefore, connotes the script of the native books, and, here the native evidently means the land of the Śakas. I had an occasion to discuss in some detail the Dasa-Dahae people in the Vēdic age, with whom Panis-parnians were closely associated. The problem cannot be elaborately discussed here. I merely refer to the theory of Hillebrandt who identifies the Paṇis with the Parnian Śakas of the classical writers. Strabo describing the nomadic Parnians whom he describes as a branch of the Dahae observes that they "are situated closest to Hyrcania (the Caspian sea) and the part of the sea that borders on it, but the remainder extend even as far as the country that stretches parallel to Aria." (Geography, 11.8.2). According to Hillebrandt it is in Arachosia that they fought the Bharatas. We have envisaged earlier the possibility of Paṇis, who are described in the *Ṛigvēda* as *grathinaḥ*, being conversant with the art of writing. On the basis of the name Ksher-osta = Kharōshta, I am inclined to associate the Kharōshṭhī script to these Parnian Śakas.

The Brāhmī is, thus, associated with the Bharatas and the Kharōshṭhī with the Dāsa-Dahae Paṇi-Parnians.

Awaiting successful decipherment of Harappan script, the Indian epigraphist commences his study from the Mauryan inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. I, however, wonder whether the study of Indian epigraphy should not start from the second millennium before the Christian era, when we find traces of Indo-Aryan speech specifically in the Cuneiform documents of Western Asia. These traces of the "Mitanni-Indisch" as Hauschild has described them, or still better, of the Para-Indians who eventually merged in the surrounding leviathan, throw welcome light on the religion and culture of the Vēdic Indians. They are being studied from the linguistic point of view by a host of scholars mostly German. Indian epigraphist has, by and large, chosen to ignore them probably because of his pre-occupation with a staggering mass of data from Indian inscriptions which number more than eight thousand.

Manfred Mayrhofer in *Die Indo-Arier im alten* Vorderesien has given an exhaustive bibliography on the subject and Prof. R.N. Dandekar in a lecture on the Indology in Germany has briefly surveyed the researches in the field. There are various aspects of the problem which may interest Indian epigraphists. Their study may broaden our horizon, explain in a much better way the archaeological evidence of contacts between India and Western Asia, furnish fresh evidence on some of the knotty problems of epigraphy yet unsolved, and, what is more important, provide epigraphic certitude to the Vēdic and Purāṇic historical traditions. The subject is vast and variegated. I can, at best, cite a few examples.

In an Assyrian inscription, there is a reference to Bagadatti of Uiśidiś, who was defeated and killed by Sargon in 716 B.C. The spelling of the royal name Bagadatti indicates its Indo-Aryan association; the Iranian form would have been Bagadāta. Further, Uiśidiś is also an Indo-Aryan word. The Aryan 'da' changes into the Semitic 'ja' and hence it is Uiśijis Auśijih i.e., pertaining to the Uśij family. These Uśijas are mentioned in the Avesta also, where they were classed with Karpans and other Daeva-yasnians, and were condemned by Zoroastrians. Thus,

Gām Karpā Usiks aesmai dā tā
Yasna (44.20)

'The Kapans and Uśiks have delivered earth to the hatred'.

Uśijas constituted an ancient family of priests associated with the Āṅgirases mentioned in the Vēdic and Purāṇic literature (Pargiter, *Ancient Historical Traditions*, pp.160-161). The reference in the Assyrian inscription not only establishes the historicity of an ancient Indian family, but also bears testimony to its spread in Western Asia and Iran.

We may take the example of the Śātavāhana family also. The meaning of the dynastic name is obscure, and its etymology is doubtful. Various theories have been advanced, but none is considered satisfactory.

In this context, I would draw the attention of scholar to vaz/vāj ending

names of Para-Indians of the second millennium B.C. The famous 'Mitanni-Indisch' prince Mattivāz is mentioned in the Hittite inscription. The name of nobleman Sātavāja occurs in the private records written in the Assyrian. Such vāz/vāj ending names are found in the Vēdic literature, Bharadvāja being a Vedic celebrity. Vāja in the Vēdas means prize, booty or just wealth in general–

Putrāsō na pitaraṁ vājasatayē maṁhishṭhaṁ vājasātayē (*RV.* 1,130,1)

In superlative as Vāzisṭa, it occurs in the *Avesta*, where vāza seems to carry the connotation of value–

Vazisto anhaiti astis

'He will become the most valuable helper'

Further, we find *vāja* in the name of the Kushāṇa king Vazeska, reconstructed in the Bactrian by Henning as Oazesko (*ZDMG*, 1965, p.84) Vāz changes into various Iranian languages. We have in Khotanese Śaka documents the name of a Khotanese king as Vasva-vāhaṁ, rendered in the Sanskrit text as Viśva-vāhana (Bailey, *Khotan Śaka Dictionary*, p.413). Vaz of the second millennium B.C. continues its journey and becomes vāhaṁ=vāhana in the early centuries of the Christian era. Sata-vāz of the Mitanni-Indian was the ancestor of Śātavāhana of the Deccan.

In the end, I offer my apologies to scholars present here for this dull and dry discussion. I heartily thank them for kindly giving me a patient hearing.

Kutō vā nūtanaṁ vastu vayam =
utprēkshituṁ kshamāḥ ।

Vachasō-vinyāsa-vaichitrya-mātram =
atra vichāryatām ॥

THE SAMBUVARĀYAS OF THE 14th CENTURY

N. Sethuraman

In the beginning of the 14th century the Sambuvarāya chieftains of the North Arcot and Chingleput districts in Tamil Nadu were faithful to their overlords, the Pāṇḍya kings. Later they declared independence. Among them the most famous chieftain was Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rāja Nārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya. Inscriptions which bear this name are many. They also supply astronomical data. Curiously some of them point out the accession in 1337 and some in 1338. Earlier researchers were aware of this oddity but they did not anticipate that two chiefs bearing the same name Rāja Nārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya could have come to the throne in the successive years. In the meantime certain records bearing the same name Rāja Nārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya indicating the accession in 1356 also appeared. The report referred to the existence of this junior chief who had the same name and said that the confusions could be solved by future research only.[1]

In the present paper the dates of the members of the Sambuvarāya family are discussed. Three Sambuvarāya chieftains who had the same royal name Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rāja Nārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya identified. They came to the throne in 1337, 1338 and 1356 respectively. The events in the reigns of the Pāṇḍya kings of the 14th century are discussed. The campaign of the Vijayanagara prince Kampaṇa and the information supplied by the Sanskrit and the Telugu poems are compared. The general results show the then political conditions in Tamil Nadu.

The most celebrated king of the 13th century was Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya I. He came to the throne in June/July 1268. He ruled till 1318. His elder son was Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya *alias* Kaliyugarāmaṉ. He came to the throne in May / June 1297. His rule extended upto 1342. The younger brother of Vīra Pāṇḍya was Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya. He came to the throne in March/ April 1303 and ruled till 1325. During this period thers was another prince also called Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ of the birth star Pushya. He was the grandson of Kulaśēkhara by a daughter. He came to the throne in March/April 1304 and ruled till 1319. The family tree is given below.[2] (During this period there were some more Pāṇḍyan princes. I have not mentioned them here because their dates and doings are outside the scope of this article.)

Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya I
of birth star Mūla 1268-1318

- Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya *alias* Kuliyugarāmaṉ 1297 - 1342
- Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya 1303—1325
- Daughter
  - Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ of birth star Pushya 1304—1319

The Sambuvarāyas were the traditional chieftains of the North Arcot and Chingleput districts in Tamil Nadu. Till the end of the 13th century they were subordinates under the Chōḷas. When the Chōḷas disappeared the Sambuvarāyas switched over their alliance to the then ruling monarchs, the Imperial Pāṇḍyas. The most famous member of this family in the 14th century, was Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya. He figures in the records[3] of Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1297. The records are in the 12th, 14th, 21st, 23rd and 25th regnal years corresponding to 1309, 1311, 1318, 1320 and 1322 respectively. In one of them he is called Ēkāmbaranāthan Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya.[4] It means that Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya was the son of Ēkāmbaranāthan. This chief borrows the name of his overlord the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara, the father of Vīra Pāṇḍya. Sambuvarāya means the servant of Lord Śiva. Records show that upto 1322 the chief was faithful to the Pāṇḍyas. Sometime later he declared independence. A record which comes from Veḍāl is an order issued by Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya in his own name.[5] The data are year 25, Mēsha śu tritīya mistake for trayōdaśi, Monday and Hasta which regularly correspond to 2nd April 1330 A.D. His initial year commences from the first quarter of 1306 and this date is confirmed by the course of events which we shall discuss somewhere below. From the Veḍāl record we can infer that Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya who was a subordinate chief under the Pāṇḍyas declared independence sometime between 1322 and 1330. We should know the circumstances which encouraged the chief to declare his independence. In the year 1324 the Muhammadan army from Delhi occupied Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas who fled to the northern areas of Tamil Nadu. The Muhammadans ruled at Madurai from 1324 to 1371. The history of Madurai Sultanate is well known. During this period the Pāṇḍyas became weak. Probably this should have prompted Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya to assert his independent authority. This surmise gets support from the record (discussed below) of his son Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya who in his second year corresponding to 1324 assumes the title "he who conquered and took the earth" and in the later records he calls himself "Sakalalōka Chakravartin" (emperor of all the worlds) a provocative high

sounding title aimed against the Imperial Pāṇḍyas whose traditional title from the beginning of the 12th century was "Tribhuvana Chakravartin" (emperor of the three worlds). The existence of Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya beyond 1330 is not known. Probably that was his last date.

A record which comes from the Ṛishi-gōpura of the Kāñchīpuram Kāmākshī Ammaṉ temple states that the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa (1287–1344) restored the Pallava king Raṅganātha *alias* Rāja-gaṇḍagōpāla *alias* Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla to the throne at Kāñchīpuram, honoured two Pāṇḍya kings and defeated the Chōḷa and a Pāṇḍya.[6] The record further states that Ballāḷa married the daughter of the Pallava king. The Pallava king Vijaya-gaṇḍagōpāla came to the throne in 1291 A.D[7] His record in year 21 corresponding to 1310-12 is also found on the same wall.[8] Evidently he should have been restored to the throne sometime before 1311 and his daughter married Ballāḷa. During this period Ballāḷa honoured two Pāṇḍyas. The former two were Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1297 and his younger brother Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara of accession 1303. The latter Pāṇḍyan prince was Jaṭāvarmaṉ Rājarājaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya, the opponent of Vīra Pāṇḍya and he was defeated by Ballāḷa.[9] The Chōḷa who was defeated by Ballāḷa was probably a Telugu Chōḷa chieftain.

A record[10] which comes from Viriñ-chipuram west of Kāñchīpuram throws light on the circumstances under which the Pallava could have lost his throne and later got it with the help of Ballāḷa. The record belongs to Vīra Pāṇḍya year 12, month Aipaśi corresponding to October 1308 A.D. It states that the chief Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya made grants to the temple for celebrating a festival called *Andalil veṉrāṉ tirunāḷ* in his name. The chief claims to have been victorious at a place called Andalil which is located in the vicinity of Viriñchipuram.[11] He makes this claim in the record of Vīra Pāṇḍya. Probably Vīra Pāṇḍya assisted by his chief Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya should have defeated the Pallava king Raṅganātha *alias* Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla. The Pallava lost his throne at Kāñchī. Later in 1310, Ballāḷa married the daughter of the Pallava chief. On this auspicious occasion Ballāḷa, his friend Vīra Pāṇḍya and the younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya and with their influence and friendship helped his father-in-law to mount the throne at Kāñchī.

In April 1311 Malik Kafur the general of Alaudin Khilji of Delhi invaded Tamil Nadu, plundered the city Madurai and returned to Delhi in October of the same year. This was a severe shock to Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya and his sons.[12] In the year 1313, the Travancore king Ravivarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara (of accession 1313) invaded Tamil Nadu. He defeated the Pāṇḍyaṉ brothers Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya, captured Kāñchīpuram and brought the northern portion of the Tamil country under his control.[13] Vīra Pāṇḍya fled to Koṅgu-maṇḍalam and Sundara Pāṇḍya took refuge in the southern parts of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam. The nephew Sundara *alias* Kōdaṇḍarāma of accession 1304 somehow managed to get on smoothly with the invader

king Ravivarmaṉ Kulavarkhara. The aged Pāṇḍyan emperor Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara stayed in the Tirunelveli district, the southern most part of the peninsula.[14]

The Kēraḷa king Ravivarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara occupied the city of Kaṇṇanūr (north of Tiruchchiṟāppaḷḷi) and made it his capital. A record which comes from Śrīraṅgam states that Champaka Kēraḷa and Mārttāṇḍa were the sons of the sister of Ravivarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara.[15] Another record[16] which comes from Kēraḷapuram near Travancore belongs to Vīra Udaya Mārttāṇḍavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva. It quotes regnal year 4, Kollam 491, Kuṁbha, solar day 21. The data correspond to 14th February 1316. Evidently this prince was Mārttāṇḍa, the second son of the sister of Kēraḷa king Ravivarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara. Another record which comes from Perunagar, a village about twenty kilometers south of Kāñchīpuram belongs to the same prince.[17] In this record he bears the name Kō-Ravivarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya. Ravivarmaṉ is a common family name of the Travancore kings. The regnal year is 5. The course of events which we shall discuss below indicates that the Perunagar record is to be assigned to a date prior to March 1316.

The brothers Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya sought help from the Kākatīyas. Ravivarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara, probably anticipating danger from the north sent his nephew Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya to Kāñchīpuram. (The record of Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya year 5 is found at Perunagar about 20 kilometers south of Kāñchīpuram).

The first blow came as early as 1316 A.D. A record[18] which comes from Kāñchīpuram is dated 11th June 1316. It states that Muppiḍi-Nāyaka, the Kākatīya general captured Kāñchīpuram and appointed Mānavīra, the governor of the city. Evidently it was Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya who sustained defeat at the hands of Muppiḍināyaka.

Another record[19] which comes from Kāñchīpuram is dated 31st December 1316. It records the gift to the temple for the welfare of the swords and shoulders of Muppiḍināyaka – a clear indication of a major onslaught within a few days. A record[20] which comes from Śrīraṅgam is dated 28th March 1317. It states that while Vīrapratāpadēva Mahārāya was ruling from Orraṅgalūr, his commander Dēvari-nāyaka son of Māchaya-nāyaka marched with an army to the south. He defeated Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya at Tiruvaḍikuṉṟam. Dēvari-nāyaka defeated Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi Kulaśēkhara and established Sundara Pāṇḍya on the Vīradhavaḷam Tiruchchiṟāppaḷḷi throne.

The course of events is very clear. The operation was carried out under the overall command of Muppiḍināyaka. Prior to June 1316 he captured Kāñchīpuram and drove out Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya who fled to the south. Around January or February 1317 the Kākatīya army headed by Dēvari-nāyaka drove out Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya from Tiruvaḍikuṉṟam, a place near Señji in the Tindivanam Taluk. The Kākatīyas marched further south, reached Śrīraṅgam and defeated Ravivarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara. The Kēraḷa kings were driven out. Sundara Pāṇḍya, the younger

brother of Vīra Pāṇḍya, was installed on the Vīradhavaḷam throne. The entire operation was completed before 28th March 1317.

The brothers Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya were happy. In 1317 Sundara arranged a special festival in the Vṛidhāchalam temple in honour of the Kākatīya general Muppiḍi-nāyaka.[21] The elder brother Vīra Pāṇḍya also made contributions to this festival. In the same year Vīra Pāṇḍya made grants to the Kāñchīpuram Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ Vishṇu temple for conducting a special service called *Kaliyugarāmaṉ sandhi* in his surname.[22] The nephew Sundara Pāṇḍya (of accession 1304) also arranged a service called *Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ-sandhi* in the same temple in his surname and celebrated the victory of the Pāṇḍyas who defeated the Chēramāṉ (Kēraḷa king)[23] Records show that the Kākatīyas did not retain Kāñchīpuram city in their hands. They gave it back to the Pāṇḍyas. The Kēraḷa kings Ravivarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara and Ravivarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya disappear from the pages of history. What happened to them we have no knowledge.

A record which comes from Tiruvottūr twenty kilometers south west of Kāñchīpuram belongs to Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 23, month Āḍi corresponding to July 1319. It refers to the order of the chief Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya and mentions the newly formed Brahmin colony (*agaram*) in his name called *Cheyyāṟṟu Veṉṟāṉ Chaturvēdhimaṅgalam* separated from the village Aṇukkāvūr. *Cheyyaṟu Veṉṟāṉ* means *"he who was victorious at Cheyyār"*. The river Cheyyār flows near Tiruvottūr and Aṇukkāvūr. Evidently Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya should have been victorious somewhere here on the banks of river Cheyyār and he should have fought the battle for the success of his overlord Vīra Pāṇḍya in whose record the chief mentions the victory. The battle should have been fought sometime before 1319. The new Brahmin colony was probably founded at the very site where the battle was fought.

A record[25] which comes from Paḷḷikoṇḍa (Vellore Taluk) quotes year 13 plus 1, day 97 of a Pāṇḍya king. It refers to the grants made in the tenth year of Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya for conducting a service called *Cheyyāṟṟu Veṉṟāṉ Sandhi in* the name of the chief. The tenth year of Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya is prior to April 1316. Naturally the Cheyyār battle is to be placed in the first quarter of 1316. We must note here that the battle of Cheyyār is quoted in the record of a Pāṇḍya king dated year 13 plus 1 day 97. This date should be later than the first quarter of 1316. It is quite obvious that the record belongs to Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara of accession 1303. His later records usually quote the regnal years as 13 plus. The present record is dated August 1316 and it refers to the Cheyyāṟṟu battle of the first quarter of the same year. The battle was fought in favour of Sundara Pāṇḍya because in his record the success is referred to.

From the records one thing is clear. In the first quarter of 1316 Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya fought a battle on behalf of his overlords the Pāṇḍyaṉ brothers

Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya. The battle was fought on the banks of the river Cheyyār. The chief brought victory for his overlords and fittingly he assumed the title *Cheyyāṟṟu Veṉṟāṉ* (victor at Cheyyār). A new Brahmin colony called Cheyyāru Veṉṟāṉ Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was founded near Aṇukkāvūr on the banks of river Cheyyār, the very site of the battle.

We have to find the enemy of the Pāṇḍyas and the Sambuvarāya. The battle was fought near Aṇukkāvūr–twenty kilometers south west of Kāñchīpuram-in the first quarter of 1316. The only battle of this period was the one in which Muppiḍināyaka defeated the Kēraḷa king Ravivarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya and on 11th June 1316 he appointed his governor at Kāñchīpuram. The course of events and the dates prompt us to surmise that the brothers Vīra Pāṇḍya, Sundara Pāṇḍya and their Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya also participated in the campaign. The chief played a major role. He defeated Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya who fled to Tiruvaḍikuṇḍṟam in the south. Subsequently early 1317 the Kākatīyas drove out Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya from Tiruvaḍikuṇḍṟam, marched towards Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi where they drove out Kēraḷa Kulaśēkhara and Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya. Near Aṇukkāvūr on the banks of the river Cheyyar Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya was victorious in defeating Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya. Fittingly he adopted the title *Cheyyāṟṟu Veṉṟāṉ*. At the very site of the battle, he founded a Brahmin colony in his name called *Cheyyāṟṟu Veṉṟāṉ Chaturvēdimaṅgalam.*

For ought we know is this. Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya was a faithful chief under the Pāṇḍyas. He helped them in two hot battles which took place in 1308 and 1316. Till 1322 he figures as a loyal subordinate. Later he assumes independent authority.

A record[26] which comes from Mēlpāḍi belongs to Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya. In this record the chief mentions a palace called in the name of his father (Nāyaṉār) Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya. It is evident that Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya was the son of Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya. The records, with astronomical data, assigned to Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya, are tabulated in Appendix 'A'. In the records he bears the title *Sakalalōka Chakravartiṉ*. The dates confirm that he came to the throne between the 18th May and the 27th June 1322. Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa means "he who conquered and took the earth". It is an epithet or a title name. The earliest record[27] which bears this title is found in his Kuṉṉattūr record of year 2 corresponding to 1324. This date and his high sounding epithet prove that when the Muhammadans occupied Madurai in 1324 and when the Pāṇḍyas became weak, the chief asserted his independent authority.

As we shall see below, the chief had two sons namely Mallināthan and Poṉṉiṉ Tambirān. His Gaṅganūr record (Appendix A) mentions the village Mallinātha Chaturvēdimaṅgalam evidently called in the name of his elder son.[28] His Kilminnal of record year 17 mentions a newly formed colony called Poṉṉiṉ

Perumalūr in the name of his second son Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ.[29]

In all the records the chief is called by the epithet name Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya only. His actual name was Ēkāmbaranātha. This is evident from the Kuttiyam record of his son Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa II. The record states that lands were gifted for worship and offerings to the image of Ēkāmbaranātha consecrated by an officer in the name of Ēkāmbaranātha Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya, the father of Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ.[30] It is to be noted here that Ēkāmbaranātha was also the name of the grandfather of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya. The records of this chief running upto 1339 are available. Probably that was his last date.

Two records which come from Kuttiyam, Walajapet Taluk, North Arcot district, supply some important information. The former[31] introduces the chief as Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya. It states that an officer of the king who had been commissioned to carry the bones of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya to Benares for consigning them to the Ganges and who had returned after performing the Śrāddha at Gayā was granted the village Kuttiyam *alias* Rājanārāyaṇanallūr as Gaṅgagamana Vṛitti for his services. The other record[33] belongs to Sakalalōka Chakravartin Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya year 3, month Kaṟkaṭaka corresponding to July 1340. He states that the above grant was made by his elder brother Mallināthaṉ Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya.

Thus it is clear that the elder brother was Mallināthaṉ and the younger brother was Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ and both had the royal name Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya. Records bearing this name and the title Sakalalōka Chakravartin with astronomical data are available. Some of them quote Śaka and cyclic years. They point out the accession in 1337 and also in 1338. Evidently Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya I *alias* Mallināthan came to the throne in 1337 and his younger brother Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya II *alias* Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ came to the throne in 1338. The records assigned to the two chiefs are tabulated in Appendices 'B' and 'C'.

Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya I came to the throne between the 3rd February and the 4th March 1337 (vide Appendix B). Records which bear the same name Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya with or without the title Sakalalōka Chakravartin create serious difficulty in identifying the chiefs. Internal evidence and the astronomical data alone can help us in assigning the record to any one of them. Nevertheless let us see some records which help us in identifying the brothers who had the same royal name.

A record which comes from Tiruvāṉai kōil (Chingleput district) belongs to Rājanārāyaṇa II, year 3, and it mentions the gift made by Mallināthaṉ Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya evidently the elder brother.[33] Another record which comes from Tirukkaḻukuṉṟam also belongs to Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya II, year 3, and it refers to the grants made by Mallināthaṉ Sambuvarāya evidently the elder brother.[34]

A record which comes from Piḷḷai-pāḷayam, a hamlet of Kāñchīpuram introduces the chief as Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇa Mallināthaṉ Sambuvarāya.[35] The regnal year is 16. Another record which comes from Tiruttalūr is in the 18th year of Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya and it refers to the grants made in the 5th year of Poṉṉayaṉ Uttaraguṇarāmaṉ Sambuvarāya evidently the younger brother.[36] Three records which come from Guḍimallūr, Kūvam, and Koḍuṅgalūr introduce the chief as Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇa Tirumallināthaṉ Sambuvarāya and they are in his 9th, 16th, and 19th years respectively.[37] All these records are to be assigned to the elder brother Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya I. Tiru is an adjective in Tamil and its Sanskrit equivalent is Śrī. Tirumallināthaṉ therefore means Śrī Mallināthaṉ.

Records of Rājanārāyaṇa I running upto 1362 are available. A record which comes from Kāvēripākkam[38] belongs to Vijayanagara prince Kaṁpaṇa Uḍaiyār, son of Bukkaṇa Uḍaiyār. It is dated Śaka 1295, cyclic year Ānanda corresponding to 1373 A.D. The record mentions certain grants made by Mallināthaṉ Sambuvarāya evidently Rājanārāyaṇa I. From the available sources we can surmise that Rājanārāyaṇa I *alias* Mallinātha Sambuvarāya ruled from 1337 to 1373. Incidentally his records from 1362 to 1373 are not found. In 1373 he figures in the record of Vijayanagara prince Kaṁpaṇa. This requires some explanation which we shall see later.

The younger brother Rājanārāyaṇa II came to the throne between the 30th March and the 10th April 1338. His records are tabulated in Appendix 'C'. He was called Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ Poṉṉiṉ Perumāḷ Poṉṉayaṉ and Udāraguṇarāmaṉ.[39] His records running upto 1356 are available. He was alive in 1359. This is evident from the Puḷiyanūr record of Rājanārāyaṇa III dated 6th November 1359 vide Appendix 'D'. The record refers to the grant made by Poṉṉayaṉ Sambuvarāya, evidently Rājanārāyaṇa II. Historical events which we shall discuss below prompt us to surmise that Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya II *alias* Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ could have ruled till 1362.

Records of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya III of accession 1356 are tabulated in Appendix 'D'. The data of the records do not produce dates in the reigns of Rājanārāyaṇa I or II. They produce the dates in the reign of Rājanārāyaṇa III only.

The most important phenomenon which we should note here is that in all the records of Appendices B, C and D the name of the king is quoted as Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya only with or without the title Sakalalōka Chakravartin. The Śaka and the Cyclic years quoted in the records help us in identifying the three identities who had the same name. The records confirm their accession in 1337, 1338 and 1356 respectively. The equivalent dates for the astronomical data quoted in other records are tried in the reigns of all the three kings. Strangely some agree with Rājanārāyaṇa I, some with Rājanārāyaṇa II and the rest

with Rājanārāyaṇa III only. The Indian calendar system and the internal evidence help us in assigning the records to the proper persons. Wherever necessary corrections are suggested in tithi or star justifying the law of astronomy. The regnal year is not at all corrected.

There are many records which bear the name Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya. They do not contain astronomical data. The highest regnal year quoted in such records is 23 only.[43] In the absence of internal evidence and astronomical data it is extremely difficult to assign these records to any particular Rājanārāyaṇa. The full texts of many records are not published. This is also a serious handicap in assigning the records to the proper persons.

Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya III ruled from 1356 to 1375. His Puḷiyanūr record which quotes the cyclic year Vikāri corresponding to 1359 mentions the grant made by Poṉṉayaṉ Sambuvarāya evidently Rājanārāyaṇa II. A record which comes from Vasur[41] (Polur Taluk) is in the 16th year of Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇaṉ Tirumallināthaṉ Tirunīṟṟu-Champaṉ. It means that Tirunīṟṟu Champaṉ was the son of Tirumallināthaṉ. Evidently he was the son of Rājanārāyaṇa I. The dates of Rājanārāyaṇa III prompt us to surmise that he should be the son of Rājanārāyaṇa I and he was called Tirunīṟṟu Champaṉ. (Tirunīṟṟu means *Vibhūti*, the sacred ash ; *Champaṉ* means devotee of Lord Śiva).

Ēkāmbaranāthaṉ Sambuvarāya

Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya 1306-1330

Ēkāmbaranātha *alias* Veṉṟumankoṇḍa Sambuvarāya
1322-1339

Rājanārāyaṇa I
alias Tirumallināthaṉ 1337-1373

Rājanārāyaṇa II
alias Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ
1338-1362

Rājanārāyaṇa III
alias Tirunīṟṟu Champaṉ
1356-1375

In April 1311, Malik Kafur the general of Alaudin Khilji of Delhi invaded Tamil Nadu, plundered the cities of Tiruchirāppaḷḷi and Madurai and returned to Delhi in October of the same yaer.[42] Two years later, Kēraḷa king Ravivarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara invaded Tamil Nadu, defeated the Pāṇḍyas and occupied the northern areas of the Tamil country for four years. He was ably assisted by his nephew Kēraḷa Ravivarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya. The Madurai Pāṇḍyas appealed to the Kākatīyas who drove out the Kēraḷa kings in 1317. During this period the chief Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya was much helpful to the Pāṇḍyas.

In the year 1319, Khusru Khan the general of the Delhi Sultan attacked Tiruchirappalli. The Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1315 defeated Khusru Khan.[43] Again in 1324 there was another invasion from Delhi. The Muhammadan army defeated the Pāṇḍyas, captured their capital Madurai and established the Madurai Sultanate.[44] The Pāṇḍyas became weak and fled to the northern areas of the Tamil country. The Sambuvarāyas fished in the troubled waters. Circumstances tempted them to seek political gains and they became opprotunists (treachery ?). In the year 1324 Veṉṟumankoṇḍa Sambuvarāya, son of Kulaśēkhara Sambuvarāya declared independence (betraying trust ?) and started asserting his authority in the North Arcot and Chengleput districts of Tamil Nadu. Veṉṟumankoṇḍa and his descendants the three Rājanārāyaṇas became all the more powerful. During this period there were many Pāṇḍya kings. The records of Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya II (1314-1362), Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya I (1334-1367), Māṟavarmaṉ Parākrama Pāṇḍya I (1335-1362), Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya (1337-1343) Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya II, (1341-1388) and Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya (1344-1352) are also found in the same area.[45] The records prove that the Pāṇḍyas did not lose their grip even though the Sambuvarāyas declared independence. A record which comes from Vikravāṇḍi belongs to Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1337. It introduces the king as Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇa Vikrama Pāṇḍya.[46] This shows that probably Vikrama Pāṇḍya defeated the two Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāyas of accession 1337 and adopted their royal name.

The Pāṇḍyas had to face and tackle two serious problems. In the south, the Madurai Sultanate was threatening. In the extreme north of the Tamil country the Sambuvarāyas grew in strength. At this stage the Pāṇḍyas sought the help of their friend, the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa whose record[47] dated 1334 are available at Kāñchīpuram and his Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record is dated Thursday the 4th January 1341. Ballāḷa really wanted to help the Pāṇḍyas. His presence in the North Arcot area should have subdued the activities of the Sambuvarāyas to some extent Ballāḷa took up the cause of the Tamil country. He fought with the Madurai Sultanate at Kaṇṇanūr, in 1334, but lost his life. The Sambuvarāyas became all the more powerful. This time the Pāṇḍyas sought the help of the Vijayanagara empire. The Vijayanagara prince Kampaṇa saw the confused and troublesome political situations in Tamil

Nadu. First, he subdued the Sambuvarāyas. Later in 1371, he marched towards Madurai, wiped out the Sultans and estabilished orderly government.[43] The Vijayanagara kings brought the Tamil country under their control. Yet, they gave full freedom to the Pāṇḍyas who retired to Ramnad, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. The Pāṇḍyas existed till the middle of the 17th century.

Adverting to the campaigns of Kampaṇa let us see how he could have achieved success in his attempts. Records[49] of Kampaṇa ranging from 1352 to 1374 are available in the traditional areas of the Sambuvarāyas whose records are also found there. (Appendices B, C, and D) A record which comes from Maḍam is dated 1362 in the reign of Kampaṇa. It states that his generals overcame the resistance put up by the Sambuvarāyas and captured their kingdom.[50] Sāḷuva Maṅgu, the *pradhāni* of Kampaṇa and Sāyana Uḍaiyār, son of Kampaṇa adopted the title "establisher of the Sambuvarāyas". According to the contemporary Sanskrit poem *Mathurā Vijayam* or *Kamparāya Charitam* composed by Gaṅgādēvī the queen of Kampaṇa, it is stated that after besieging and reducing the citadel of Rājagambhīra, Sambuvarāya was captured and killed. It also mentions the success of Kampaṇa at Madurai where he wiped out the Sultans (in 1371). The poet has a soft corner for the Pāṇḍyas and describes in touching verses the pathetic conditions of the then Pāṇḍyan rulers. Incidentally a record which comes from Tirukkaḷakuḍi near Madura, dated Friday the 12th September 1371, in the reign of Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya II states that Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār destroyed the Muhammadans and established orderly government in the Tamil country.[51]

The episode of the Sambuvarāyas receives corroboration from other literary works such as the Telugu poem *Jaiminī Bhāratam* of Piḷḷalamaṟṟi Pinavīrabhadra and the Sanskrit poems *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* of Rājanātha Diṇḍima and *Rāmābhyudayam* of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. It must be noted here that *Mathurā Vijayam* explicitly states that the Sambuvarāya was killed and it does not allude to the restoration of Sambuvarāya whereas *Jaiminī Bhāratam* refers to his establishment in the kingdom by Sāḷuva Maṅgu, the general of Kampaṇa. *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* states that Sāḷuva Maṅgu *first subjugated the Sambuvarāya and then restored him to the kingdom.*[25] We have constructed the genealogy and the chronology of the Sambuvarāya chiefs. The records of the Pāṇḍyas and those of Kampaṇa and the literary works discussed above prompt us to surmise as follows.

1) As early as 1352 the Vijayanagara prince Kampaṇa at the request of the Pāṇḍyas, established himself in the territory of the Sambuvarāyas and in course of time extended his authority after subjugating the Sambuvarāya chiefs. The worst affected was probably Rājanārāyaṇa II whose records upto 1356 are available. Yet, his existence in 1359 is confirmed by the junior Rājanārāyaṇa III.

2) Around 1362 there was a hot battle in which the younger brother Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya II was prabably

killed. (His existence upto 1359 is known, whereas the records of his elder brother Rājanārāyaṇa I running upto 1362 are available. The latter also figures in the Taiyūr record[53] of Kampaṇa dated 28th July 1362 three months after the date of the Ukkal record (vide Appendix B).

3) Rājanārāyaṇa II surrendered to Kampaṇa who was kind enough to restore him to the throne. The records of Rājanārāyaṇa I are found upto 1362 only. Later he figures as a donor in the record of Kampaṇa dated 1373. Probably he should have retired from active politics and entrusted the affairs of the kingdom with his son Rājanārāyaṇa III whose records upto 1375 are identified.

In the year 1352, at the request of the Pāṇḍyas, Kampaṇa entered the Sambuvarāya territory and established his authority there. He grew in strength and in the hot battle of 1362, he killed the younger brother Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa II The elder brother Mallinathan *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa I surrendered and Kampaṇa was kind enough to establish him on the throne. However Rājanārāyaṇa I entrusted the management of the kingdom to his son Tiruniṟṟu Champaṉ *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa III. He retired from politics and spent the evening of his life peacefully till 1373. Rājanārāyaṇa III ruled till 1375. The fate of the Sambuvarāyas family after 1375 is not known.

APPENDIX A

Sakalalōka Chakravartiṉ Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya
alias Ēkāmbaranātha

Record/Village	Regnal year and date	date
26 of 1931 Valayathūr	Śaka 1260, year 17, Kaṉṉi ba 8, Tuesday and Tiruvādirai	8th Sept. 1338
24 of 1887 Gaṅganūr	17, Cyclic year Pramādi, Ṛishabha su 1, Monday and Rōhiṇi	10th May 1339
202 of 1921 Kāṅgayanallūr	-Do-	10th May 1339
46 of 1900 Sevallimēḍu	18, Mithuna, śu 13, Sunday, Hasta mistake for Jyēshṭha	20th June 1339
43 of 1921 Kāñchipuram	-Do-	20th June 1339

On the basis of Gaṅganūr record Rōhiṇi in Ṛishabha in 1322 belongs to the 0th year. The star was current on 17th May. On the basis of the Sevallimēḍu record Jyēshṭha in Mithuna in 1322 belongs to the first year. The star was current on 27th June.

17th May 1322 = 0th year

27th June 1322 = 1st year

Venṟumaṉkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya *alias* Ēkāmbaranātha came to the throne between the 18th May and the 27th June 1322.

APPENDIX B

Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya I
alias Tirumallināthaṉ of accession 1337

Record/Village	Regnal year and date	Date
196 of 1940 Viriñchipuram	3, Mīna, ba, daśami wrong reading for Pañchadaśi, Uttiraṭṭādi Wednesday	10th March 1339
96 of 1900 Tiruvōttūr	7, Makara ba 12, Mūla, Monday	12th January 1344
140 of 1923 Āṟpākkam	16, Cyclic year Nandana Tulā, śu 8, Uttirāḍam and Sunday are irregular	October 1352
103 of 1933 Sadras	16, Kuṁbha 12th Solar day, śu Tuesday	5th February 1353
82 of 1936 Māraṅgiyūr	17, Ṛishabha, ba 1, mistake for 2, Mūla, Monday	20th May 1353
436 of 1925 Tiruttalūr	18, Kanya mistake for Siṁha, śu 13, Uttirāḍam and Friday	1st August 1354
162 of 1940 Ukkal	26, Śaka, 1284, Śubhakṛit, Mēsha, śu 4, Rōhiṇi and Wednesday	30th March 1362

Sadras record is dated 5th February 1353. On that day star Sadayam was current in Kuṁbha. Accordingly Sadayam in Kuṁbha of 1337 belongs to 0th year. It was current on 2nd February. On the basis of Viriñchipuram record, Uttiraṭṭādi in Mīna of 1337 falls in the first year. The star was current on 4th March.

2nd February 1337 = 0th year

4th March 1337 = 1st year

Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya I *alias* Tirumallināthaṉ came to the throne between the 3rd February and the 4th March 1337.

APPENDIX C

Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya II
alias Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ of accession 1338

Record/Village	Regnal Year and data	Date
377 of 1929 Tiruppālaivanam	3, Mēsha śu 10 mistake for ba 4, Mūla, Sunday	16th April 1340
176 of 1942 Saduppēri	4, cyclic year Chitrabhānu, Mēsha, śu 7, Punarvasu, Friday	12th April 1342
102 of 1933 Puduppaṭṭanam	5, Viṟchika, ba 11, Chittirai Sunday	24th November 1342
49 of 1922 Tiruvāmāttūr	5, Kuṁba, śu 10 mistake for 12, Pushya, Friday	7th February 1343
195 of 1930 Kuṉṉattūr	6, Tula, śu 3, Mūla, Wednesady	22nd October 1343
213 of 1923 Tiruppulivanam	6, Dhanus, śu 10, wrong for 14, Rōhiṇi Monday	1st December 1343
46 of 1900 49 of 1921 Sevallimēḍu	7, Siṁha, Rēvati, Friday	30th July 1344

Record/Village	Regnal Year and data	date
203 of 1912 Tiruvoṟṟiyūr	7, Simha, ba 2, mistake for 12, Punarvasu, Thursday (mentions Muhammadan invasion in the earlier days)	5th August 1341
30 of 1890 Kāñchīpuram	9, Śaka 1268, Vyaya, Viṟchika ba 5, Punarvasu, Saturday	4th November 1346
42 of 1900 Sevallimēḍu	-Do-	4th November 1346
268 of 1909 Tirukkachūr	13, Tula, ba 2, Kirtika, Sunday	17th October 1350
302 of 1921 Araśarkōil	14, Simha, ba 12, Pushya Friday	19th August 1351
260 of 1901 Achcharapākkam	19, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 5, Uttiram, Sunday	3rd July 1356
494 of 1926 Vēppūr	19, Kārtikai, ba 10, Hasta Friday	18th November 1356

On the basis of 176 of 1942 the star Punarvasu in Mēsha of 1338 falls in the 0th year. It was current on 29th March. On the basis of 377 of 1929 the star Mūla in Mēsha of 1338 belongs to the first year. It was current on 10th April.

29th March 1338 = 0th year

10th April 1338 = 1st year

Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya II *alias* Poṉṉiṉ Tambirāṉ came to the throne between the 30th March and the 10th April 1338.

APPENDIX D

Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya III

alias Tiruniṟṟu Champaṉ

Record/Village	Regnal Year and data	Date
48 of 1922 Tiruvāmāttūr	4, Kaṉṉi, śu 4, mistake for 6, Anusha, Friday	30th August 1359
386 of 1925 Puḷiyanūr	4, Cyclic year Vikāri, Viṟchika, ba 1, Rōhiṇi, Wednesday (Records the order of Poṉṉayaṉ Sambuvarāya)	6th November 1359
55 of 1922 Tiruvāmāttūr	5, Kumba, ba 8, Anusham Saturday	30th January 1361
114 of 1940 Tiruvattiyūr	6, Simha, ba 14, Pushya Saturday	31st July 1361
245 of 1919 Maḍam	6, Simha śu 1, Maka, Sunday	1st August 1361
233 of 1919 Maḍam	7, Mēsha, śu 13, Uttiram, Wednesday	6th April 1362
498 of 1926 Vēppūr	7, Mithuna, śu 3, mistake for 11, Svāti, Friday	3rd June 1362
200 of 1923 Tiruppulivanam	7, Tula, śu 6, Monday	24th October 1362
187 of 1930 Kuṉṉattūr	8, Kaṉṉi, śu 5, Aviṭṭam wrong for Anusham, Wednesday	13th September 1363
218 of 1935 Neṟkuṇam	18, Mithuna, ba 12, Rōhiṇi, Saturday	18th June 1373
131 of 1935 Aragaṇḍanallūr	19, Tula, śu 9, mistake for 4, Anusham, Monday	9th October 1374
396 of 1909 Siddaliṅgamaḍam	20, Makara, śu 2 (?), Tiruvōṇam Wednesday	3rd January 1375

On the basis of 386 of 1925 the star Rōhiṇi in Viṛchika of 1355 belongs to 20th year. The star was current on 20th November. On the basis of 396 of 1909, Tiruvōṇam in Makara of 1356 falls in the first year. The star was current on 4th January.

20th November 1355	=	0th year
4th January 1356	=	1st year

Rāja Nārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya III *alias* Tiruniṟṟu Champaṉ came to the throne between the 21st November 1355 and the 4th January 1356. The months November and December corresponding to Viṛchika and Dhanus are not auspicious for accession. Makara is an auspicious month which began on 27th December 1335. We can surmise that Rāja Nārāyaṇa III came to the throne between the 27th December 1355 and the 4th January 1356.

Notes -

1. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1924-25, part II, para 41 ; For the earlier chief of same name the report (*ibid.*, 1922-23, page 90) suggests Śaka 1259 as the accession date. The same report part II, para 93 suggests Śaka 1260.
2. N. Sethuraman "Two Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of aceession 1303 and 1304". *JESI.*, Vol. X, pp. 47 ff. ; Also see N. Sethuraman "Jaṭāvarmaṉ Rāja Rājaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya 1310-32" *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 27 ff.
3. *A.R.S.I.E.* 180 of 1949 ; 178 of 1940 ; 177 of 1940 ; *S.I.I.* Vol. VII, 101 ; 156 of 1939 ; 195 of 1923 ; *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1939-43, part II, para 55. The surmise made in para 61 is wrong and contradictory to para 55.
4. *A.R.S.I.E.* 177 of 1940.
5. Madras State Epigraphical Collections 77 of 1908 ; The data are given in *A.R.S.I.E.* 1925-26 page 110 ; The report points out the difficulty in finding the correct date.
6. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 312 of 1954-55 ; *ibid.*, 1954-55, page 16.
7. *Ibid.*, 1954-55, page 16 ; Nellore records 60 and 71 ; *SII.*, Vol. V. 493.
8. *ARSIE.*, 310 of 1954-55.
9. N. Sethuraman "Jaṭāvarmaṉ Rāja Rājaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya 1310-32" *JESI.*, Vol. XII. pp. 27 ff.
10. *ARSIE.*, 180 of 1940 read with the same temple record 178 of 1940 of Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 14. *Ibid.*, 1939-43, page 250, para 56.
11. Andalil is near Viriñchipuram - See *ARSIE.*, 105 of 1940.
12. N. Sethuraman "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas" page 176. Also see the paper mentioned in note 9 above.
13. N. Sethuraman "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas" page 136.

14. *ARSIE.*, 600 of 1915 - Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya I, year 47.

15. *SII*, Vol. XXIV, 282.

16. *TAS.*, Vol. IV, part I, page 89 record number 16.

17. 47 of 1898 the text of which is published in *SII.*, VI, 330 and *ARSIE.*, 344 of 1923. Both are same. In 47 of 1898 the name of the village is wrongly printed as Pennagaram. The actual name is Perunagar which name is correctly mentioned in *ARSIE.*, 1923.

18. 43 of 1893; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, page 128.

19. *ARIE.*, 323 of 1954–55.

20. *SII.*, Vol. XXIV 283 and *ibid.*, Vol. IV, 430 - "Tiruvāḍikuṉṟamu Vīra Kēraḷaranannu Vīra Pāṇḍi ninni Malayāḷa Tiruvadi Kulasēkhara ninnī" - Venkatasubba Iyer reads "Tiruva*d*ikuṉṟamu Vīrakshētranannu" *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, 48. There is no chance for such a reading. The heroic title Vīra is to be attributed to the Kēraḷa prince Vīra Pāṇḍya and not to a hill station.

21. *ARSIE.*, 72 of 1918.

22. *SII.*, Vol. IV, 855.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 853

24. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, 101.

25. *ARSIE.*, 456 of 1925 - The Paḷḷikoṇḍa records 456 to 463 of 1925 quote the regnal years only. It is extremely difficult to identify the kings. I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh who was kind enough to send the transcripts of the records. Internal evidence helps us in identifying the Pāṇḍya kings and the chief. For example 459 belongs to Sundara, year 15 corresponding to 1318 and it mentions the grants made in the chief's 11th year corresponding to 1317. Record No. 460. belongs to Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 23 and it mentions the transactions made in the 11th year of the chief.

26. *SII.*, Vol. IV, 319 year 16 of Veṉṟumankoṇḍa Sambuvarāya.

27. *ARSIE.*, 206 of 1929–30.

28. *SII.*, Vol. I, No. 52,

29. *ARSIE.*, 35 of 1934; See part II, page 36, para 22.

30. *Ibid.*, 33 of 1934; See part II, page 36, para 23.

31. *Ibid.*, 32 of 1934.

32. As in note 30 above.

33. Madras State Epigraphical Collections 354 of 1911.

34. *SII.*, Vol. V, 471.

35. *ARSIE.*, 86 of 1921.

36. *Ibid.*, 434 of 1924.

37. Madras State Epigraphical Collections 424 of 1905 ; 344 of 1909 and 139 of 1924.

38. *Ibid.*, 390 of 1905.

39. *ARSIE.*, 1933–34, page 36, paragraphs 22 and 23.

40. Avur *ARSIE.*, 306 of 1919 ; Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, page 158, Venkatasubba Iyer states that the highest regnal, year is 24 and substantiates his statement by quoting 307 of 1919 which belongs to Rāja Rāja I, year 24 corresponding to 1009 A.D. His statement needs revision.

41. *ARSIE.*, 83 of 1941–42.

42. As in note 12 above.

43. N. Sethuraman – "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas" – page 154.

44. N. Sethuraman – "Five Pāṇḍya kings of the 14th century" – see page 61 – Volume Eleven of *JESI*, 1984.

45. N. Sethuraman "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas" – edition 1978 ; Also see the article mentioned in note 44 above.

46. *ARSIE.*, 288 of 1915. The regnal year is lost.

47. Kāñchipuram 391 and 401 of 1919 ; Tiruvaṇṇāmalai *SII.*, Vol. VIII, 99.

48. As in note 44 above.

49. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII page 158.

50. *Ibid.*, page 154.

51. 64 of 1916 – Also see note 44 above.

52. *Ep. Ind.*, page 157.

53. *ARSIE.*, 226 of 1916.

3 SIX BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM VISAPUR (MAHARASHTRA)

Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale

About six k.ms south of Karle Cave mountains and south-east ranges of Sahyādri which form the southern limit of the Indrayani valley, there stand the twin fortified hills viz. Lohogadh and Visapur. Both the forts are approachable from Malvali railway station, on the Bombay Poona railway line. The way to Visapur fort leads from the village Patan 3 k.ms to the east of Malvali and Lohogadh could be visited from the village Lohovadi about 2 k.ms [west of Malvali. The Bombay gazetteer[1] records that the Visapur fort was built by First Pēshvā Bālāji Viśvanātha (1714–20 A.D.) and the Lohogadh fort is as old as Ahmadnagar kings (1489–1636 A.D.) and some additions were made by Nana Fadnavis in 1789 A.D.

The position of these two forts commanding the high road to the ancient Bor Pass must have made them important even in the Marāṭhā period. The gazetteer[2] further mentions that on the ground of position and its resemblance in name Lohogadh must be Ptolemy's Olochoera. It was one of the chief places inland from South Konkan. On Lohogadh and Visapur forts there are Buddhist caves which were used as store-houses in the Marāṭhā period. Both the forts are ideally situated in the midst of ancient caves viz. Kārle in the north, Bēḍsa in the east and the western brow of Sahyādri plateau commanding the Bhājā hill-view.

Mr. G. N. Dandekar the well-known Marāṭhi writer who is fond of trecking informed me about the existance of one Brāhmī inscription over a cistern but actually after exploration, we could find five more inscriptions. Mr. R. V. Palande and Mr. B G. Tikone helped me in locating five inscriptions on the site of Visapur fort. The way to Visapur fort is through rough rocky-track. Its highest point is 3550′ above the sea-level. The northern rocky scrap of the fort is crowned by a smooth hill-top. There is one cistern and above it, there is one inscription which is completely damaged. It is below the fortified wall and the place is named as anciet 'Shop'. Crossing this place, one has to ascend the steep way, about 500′ strewn with large boulders and broken masonary and remains of debris. The way to the fort flanked by ruined slabs takes us to the entrance of the fort. To the left of the entrance of the fort, there is an excavated cave without pillars closed from outside which was once upon a time used as a store-house in the Marāṭhā period. At the entrance there is an image of Māruti in the left wall. To the left side of steps above 100′ in the thick vegetation there are five cisterns in one row which are approachable by an ancient ladder. Two cisterns are having channels on the top from where the rain water is collected in the cisterns. Over four cisterns, there are inscriptions. Out of four inscriptions the second inscription is completely damaged.

The middle portion of the first and the third inscriptions though written under projections and above cisterns are partially damaged due to heavy rains. The fourth inscription is complete. Over the fifth cistern there are Dharmachakra and Triratna symbols. The sixth inscription is on the back side of the fort. It is significant to note the location of all the inscriptions The cisterns together with inscriptions are lacated on the middle belt of the fort and not on the fort proper. The cisterns might have been meant for busy traders and ancient monks coming from Konkan visiting Kārle, Bhājā and Bēḍsa caves and then going to Nānēghaṭ.

The characters are Brāhmī and they resemble the inscription of Viṇhudata from Bhājā[3]. On palaeographical grounds the inscriptions may be assigned to the middle of 2nd Century A.D. The language of the inscription is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. All the five inscriptions record the gift of cisterns (*poḍhi*) evidently identical with the ones now existing in Visapur near which these inscriptions are engraved. In all the four inscriptions, the donor appears to be Viṇhudata, while in one epigraph, the donor is Mṛigudapālika, who was evidently the writer (*lēkhaka*) under Mahārathi Viṇhudata.

The importance of the inscriptions lies in the fact that all the inscriptions are of Mahārathi Kosikīputa-Viṇhudata. The second inscription records the name of the Śātavāhana monarch Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumavi. It records the date of his regnal year as 26th year.[4] The Kārle inscription records the gift of *upāsaka* Harapharaṇa[5] in the 24th regnal year of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumavi. The Kārle[5] inscription dated in the 7th regnal year records the gift of Mahārathi Vāsishṭhīputra Sōmadēva who was the son of Mahārathi Kosikīputa Mitadēva.[6] A gift of a cistern by Mahārathi[7] Kosikīputa Viṇhudata is from Bhājā. The present six inscriptions were donated by Mahārathi Kosikīputa Viṇhudata. It therefore appears that Mahārathi Kosikīputa Viṇhudata of Bhājā and the donor of the same name and designation from Visapur were one and same and most probably he must be the Mahārathi who was controlling the region from Bor pass to Nānēghāṭ.

It is wellknown that Ṣātavāhana house had matrimonial relations with the Mahārathi family. An inscription from Kārle records the gift of pillar by Mahārathi Agnimitra.[8] The mention of Mahārathi as donor from Kārle, Bhājā and Visapur indicates that the powerful Mahārathi family was controlling the region from Bor pass to Nānēghāṭ and Viṇhudata was the influential Mahārathi of the king Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumavi.

TEXT[9]

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

1 [10]Sidhaṁ Ko[sa] . . . . . .

2 Mahārathi . . . . .

3 Poḍhī[11][॥*]

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

1 Mahā . . . . [Kosa]

2 Viṇhudatassa lekhakasa Mṛigudapālitasa poḍhī [॥*]

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

1 Sidhaṁ rāñō Vāsi . . . . . .

2 savachharē 20 6[12] . . . . Viṇhu[da]tasa poḍhī [॥*]

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

1 Sidham[13] Mahāra[thi]sa Kosikīputasa Viṇhudatasa

2 poḍhī [॥]

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

1 Sidham[14] Mahāra[thi]sa Kosikīputasa

2 Viṇhu[datasa] poḍhī [॥*]

Notes :

1 *Bombay Gazetteer.*, Vol. XVIII, part 3, p. 247.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

3 *Lüders' list of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1079.

4 See note no. 12 below.

5 *Ep. Ind*, Vol. VII, p. 71, No. 20 ; Lüders' List No. 1106.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 61, No. 14 ; *Lüders'* List No. 1100.

7 *Lüders'* List No. 1079.

8 *Lüders'* List No. 1088.

9 From photographs.

10 There is a *svastika* symbol on the left before the commencement of the epigraph [Ed.]

11 There is a *svastika* symbol on the right at the end of the epigraph [Ed.]

12 The figure appears to be 8 and not 6 as read by Gokhale. Therefore the regnal year noted in the epigraph is 28 [Ed.]

13 The symbol standing probably for the auspicious word *Siddham* has the form of the Brāhmī letter *tha.* [Ed.]

14 The symbol standing for the auspicious word *Siddham* has the the form of the Brāhmī letter *tha* [Ed.]

4 A NOTE ON THE GANESHVADI INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMADITYA VI

H. S. Thosar & N. S. Pohnerkar

The present inscriptions were first noticed by the authors in 1964, on which a paper was also prepared by them. Since the writers were serving in the Department of Archaeology, Govt. of Maharashtra, the paper was sent to the then Director of Archaeology for its publication. But for unknown reasons, it remained unpublished to this date.

Meanwhile in 1969, Dr. V. B. Kolte published a paper on the same inscriptions in a Marāṭhi journal[1]. Subsequently it was published by him in the *Epigraphia Indica* also[2]. The present authors however differ at many places from the view of Dr. Kolte. Secondly, while editing these inscriptions he has not taken cognisance of most of the inscriptions of Bhīma, which were published earlier. He has also overlooked several aspects of historical and cultural importance gleaning through these inscriptions. The present note highlights all these facts.

The first point or difference is about the order of these inscriptions and their mutual relationship. Dr. Kolte presumes that the matter on slab no. 1 and on the front side of slab no. 2 are the two parts of the same inscription. He further states that the inscription on the left side of slab no. 2, containing the endowment portion is a separate inscription and is incomplete. According to him the remaining portion of this inscription seems to have been engraved on a separate slab which is probably missing.

The present authors do not agree with this view. As a matter of fact the main inscription containing the date and the endowment portion begins on the left side of slab no. 2 and the matter on its front side is its continuation. This presumption is based on the following grounds.

1) The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* but it does not have the concluding words at the end. On the contrary it ends with the word *punar=api* indicating its continuation on the other side of the same slab.

2) There is no auspicious sign at the beginning matter on the front side of this slab.

3) The size of letters on both the sides of this slab is identical; whereas the letters on slab no. 1 are smaller.

4) Inscription on slab no. 1 is composed in poetic form; whereas the major part of the matter on both the sides of slab no. 2 is in prose.

Dr. Kolte has treated the inscription on the front side of slab no. 2 as the continuation of the inscription of slab no. 1. His contention does not stand on

the grounds referred to above. Both these slabs thus contain two separate inscriptions and they are not incomplete as suggested by him.

Inscription on Slab No. 1

This does not seem to be a royal charter of Vikramāditya VI because the general usages of royal charter are not found in it. Secondly in the very first line of this inscription it has been described as a 'Śivaliṅgi Santāna Śāsana' which itself indicates that it is not a Rājaśāsana. The present inscription which mainly contains the eulogy of Bhīma was probably engraved at the instance of the Āchāryas of the Śivaliṅgi Santāna school located at Gaṇēshvāḍi. It was probably engraved after the death of Bhīma to commemorate the achievements of this general as he was the patron of this school. Besides mentioning Bhīma's land grants to the temples and the school at Pippala-grāma, the inscription records the construction of a large number of temples, tanks, wells and schools by the general in the different parts of Chalukyan kingdom. It also mentions the maintainance of several feeding centres by him. It gives a graphic account about the generosity and other personal qualities of Bhīma. It further records the family history of this great Chalukyan general. It is in a poetic form and was composed by Bhīma's son Kālidāsa who was equally preficient in using pen as well as sword. Kālidāsa probably composed it at the request of the Gaṇēshvāḍi school authorities which was engraved by them to mark their tributes to Bhīma.

Inscription on Slab No. 2

This is the royal charter of Vikramāditya VI and therefore may be treated as the main inscription. Its first six lines contain eulogy of Vikramāditya VI, the celebrated Chalukya king of Kalyāṇa, who ruled from 1076 to 1127 A.D. The eulogy contains almost all his epithets generally occurring in his other inscriptions. Lines 7 to 14 deal with the eulogy of Bhīma, the *Mahāpradhāna* of Vikramāditya VI. Lines 15 to 30 deal with the main object of this inscription. It states that Bhīma obtained the village Pippala-grāma from the king and constructed temples of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Mahēśa on the bank of the Bhīma Samudra at that place. According to it he also founded a school named Sarasvatī Maṇḍapa at Pippala-grāma. The inscription further states that he granted 500 *nivartanas* of land to Tatpurusha Paṇḍita who was the *Āchārya* of the school. The land was granted for the upkeep of the temples as well as for the maintainance of the school.

The endowment was made on Wednesday, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse falling on Mārgaśīrsha Paurṇimā in the year 24 of the Chalukya Vikrama era, the Samvatsara being Pramāthi. The data tallies with the Indian Ephemeris and was equivalent to Wednesday, 30th November 1099 A.D.

Lines 30 to 52 contain the description of boundaries of the granted land. The inscription further states that marking stones (*Śilāśāsanas*) were placed on all the borders of the endowed land, some of which could be seen even now.

This inscription begins on the left side of slab no. 2 with the auspicious

word '*Svasti*'. The matter on this side of the slab ends with the word '*punarapi*' which shows that it is not the end of the inscription. But the contention of Dr. Kolte about the missing of the second part does not seem to be convincing. Its continuation is found on the front side of the same slab. The first 12 lines of the front side are again devoted to the eulogy of Bhīma Sēnāpati whose charitable acts have been recorded here. The composer of this inscription was Bhīma's son Kālidāsa - daṇḍanāyaka who is described as Abhinava Kālidāsa.

The rest of the inscription is devoted to the eulogy of the Sivaliṅgi Santānāchāryas of this school.

Gaṇēśvāḍi—A Prominent Śaivite Centre.

Under the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa Saivism flourished on a very large scale in the Deccan. Most of the inscriptions of this dynasty record endowments to Śiva temples and Śaivite temple-schools. Out of the various Śaiva sects the Kāḷamukha was the most popular sect during this period. This presumption is strengthened by epigraphic evidence also[3]. The Āchāryas referred to in the present inscription were the followers of the Śivaliṅgi-santāna which was probably a subsect of the Kāḷamukha sect. Bhīma also seems to have been a follower of this sect. Therefore he brought several *Āchāryas* of this sect from Kashmir and established the centres of this sect in the Deccan. The Kashmiri origin of the *Āchāryas* mentioned in other inscriptions is indicated by the Belagami inscription of the same period which refers to one of these *Āchāryas* as Kāshmīradēva.[4] The spread of this sect through out the Deccan is evidenced by the mention of the names of the *Āchāryas* of the Gaṇēshvāḍi school in several other inscriptions from the different parts of the Chalukya kingdom. The Belagami inscription refers to the name of Trilōchana Munīndra,[5] whereas the Gogga inscription refers to the name of Rudraśakti Paṇḍita and Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita who were described as the *Āchāryas* of the Parvatāvalī sect which was also a subsect of the Kāḷamukha sect.[6] Another inscription from Belagami mentions the name of the *Śrīkaṇṭha* Paṇḍita.[7] All these names are mentioned in the Gaṇēshvāḍi inscription. Since all these inscriptions belonged to the same period, it seems that the *Āchāryas* were transferred to the different seats. The Gaṇēshvāḍi inscription also refers to the Parvatāvalī Āmnāya. It seems to be the same as Śivaliṅgi Santāna. It is thus evident that the Parvatāvalī or the Śivaliṅgī seet had become very popular in the Deccan. Several centres of this sect were working under royal patronage. Gaṇēshvāḍi was one of such centres. The present inscription was issued by the Śivaliṅgi sect at Gaṇēśvāḍi. It indicates that the centres enjoyed full autonomy in the field of their administration. Dr. Kolte has not noted this fact. Following is the line of Āchāryas mentioned in the Gaṇēshvāḍi inscription.

Rudra or Vādirudra Paṇḍita
|
Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita alias Karṇṇāpura Bhārati
|
Trilōchanāchārya Paṇḍita
|
Tatpurusha Paṇḍita (donee of the Gaṇēśvāḍi ins).
|
Śrīkaṇṭhamuni

The Gaṇēshvāḍi school seems to have made tremendous progress under Tatpurusha Paṇḍita who constructed several temples, tanks and other buildings through the endowments made by Bhīma. He was followed by Śrīkaṇṭhamuni who probably issued the inscription.

The Kāḷāmukha sect maintained its hold in the Deccan right upto the 15th century. Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings mention a Kāḷāmukhi saint named Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita as the *Kulaguru* of the royal family[8]. The influence of the Kashmiri Brāhmaṇas also continued as indicated by a large number of donees who hailed from Kashmir[9].

The Gaṇēshvāḍi temple school seems to have continued to flourish even during the Muslim rule. In a manuscript record which is in the possession of Kēśava Nārāyaṇa Bhārati, the present temple priest, the place is referred as Gaṇēshpur. The record is said to be the true copy of a copper-plate grant issued by the Bahmani ruler Muhammed Shah III who ruled at Bidar from 1463 to 1482. The charter registers land grants by the king to Kēśava Nārāyaṇa Bhārati who was the Āchārya of the Gaṇēshpur centre at that time. This Āchārya was probably the descendent of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita mentioned in the Gaṇēshvāḍi inscription whose other name was Karṇāpura Bhārati. The present priest also bears the name Kēśava Nārāyaṇa Bhārati Gōsāvi. This clearly shows that from the Muslim period onwards the line of Āchāryas of this school bacame hereditary and the Bhārati Gōsāvis remained in charge of it. Even at present the land around the site of the Bhīma-samudra is under the possession of the Gōsāvis as it is a inam land of the temple. We thus get a continuous history of the Gaṇēshvāḍi temple school from the 11th to the 20th century which has been overlooked by Dr. Kolte.

A new light on the history of Bhīma

The present inscriptions mainly contain the eulogy of Bhīma who was the *Mahāpradhāna* of Vikramāditya VI. Dr. Kolte states that the name of this general is mentioned only in the Lakshmēśvar inscription. But a minute study of inscriptions from Karnataka reveals that several inscriptions refer to his or his descendents' names. Two inscriptions from Belagami[10] refer to him as chief over the palace property (*Āsthāna Vastunāyaka*) and minister for War and Peace (*sāndhivigrahika*).[11] The Lakshmēśvar inscription describes him as *Manevergaḍe* and the governor of *Palasigge* 12000.[12] In the Gaṇēshvāḍi inscriptions he is described as *Mahāsēnāpati* and *sauvidallānām=adhishṭhāyaka*. It shows that this general had successfully handled several portfolios and enjoyed utmost confidence of king Vikramāditya VI. The Gaṇēshvāḍi inscriptions further give a detailed description of the family history, personal qualities and achievements of Bhīma.

According to these inscriptions, he hailed from Kashmir. He belonged to a brāhmaṇa family of Ātrēya-gōtra and Ṛigvēda Śākha. His ancestors were well-versed in Vēdic studies and were staunch devotees of Śiva.

The composer of this Praśasti was Bhīma's son Kālidāsa-daṇḍanāyaka due to whose literary qualities he was styled as Abhinava Kāḷidāsa. The name of Kālidāsa-

daṇḍanāyaka is also mentioned in an inscription from Karnataka which is dated 1096 A.D. and describes him as "head ornament of good warriors, a terror to the enemies . . the hostile Lāṭa king, Magadha, Nēpāla, Pāñchāla, Chōḷa and others. He plucked up and slew, bringing in and handing over their treasury, their numerous big elephants, their wives and their horses and brought the land into subjection under the Chalukya emperor (Vikramāditya VI)[13] This Kālidāsa is obviously the same person mentioned in the Gaṇēshvādi inscription as the son of Bhīma. The long list of enemies subdued by him certainly proves his greatness as a general. His literary qualities as described in the Gaṇēshvāḍi inscription are corroborated by another inscription which praises Kālidāsa saying that "if he spoke it was like letters engraved on copper-plates."[14] It also indicates that he was the composer of several Chalukyan charters. The evidence thus shows that he was equally efficient in handling pen as well as sword. The dates of these inscriptions also show that he served the Chalukya king Vikramāditya VI alongwith his father. So some of his military achievements might have been shared by Bhīma also.

Bhīma's descendents seem to have continued to serve the Chalukya kings till the end of the Chalukya period. An inscription from Karnataka mentions one Mahādēva-daṇḍādhipa, the son of Kālidāsa as the subordinate of Kalachuri Bijjaḷa when the latter was the governor of Banavāsi[15]. On the basis of this epigraphic evidence the genealogy of Bhīma's family can be worked out as under :

Ādityabbaṭṭa
|
Śiyubhaṭṭa
|
Vallabhaṭṭa - Jayāvatī
|
Bhima, Bhīvaṇayya - Jōgaladēvī, Jogava
|
Kālidāsa - Ēkalādēvī
|
Mahādēva Daṇḍādhipa

The inscriptions thus shed a new light on the political history of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa. Dr. Kolte has not taken this aspect into consideration.

The Gaṇēshvāḍi inscriptions further give a long list of benevolent acts of Bhīma which leaves no doubt about his generosity and keen interest in patronising religion, art and learning. Most of the tanks, *Śalas* and temples built by Bhīma are still extant. Their correct identification will prove to be very useful for the students of Chalukyan architecture. Dr. Kolte has not dealt with this aspect properly. Following are some of the examples.

1) The inscription mentions construction of a school named Bhīma Vikrama visāla sālā at Mēghaṁkara and installation of the images of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Mehēśa at the shrine. Kolte has rightly identified the place with Mehkar in Buldana district of Maharashtra but he is silent about the *sālā* built by Bhīma. It can be identified with an old structure on the bank of Penganga known as Maṭh or Dharmaśālā. It was named after Bhīma and his lord Vikramāditya VI. Though at present neglected, it is in a good state of preservation. The image of Vishṇu is probably the image of

Kēśavarāja now enshrined and worshipped in the newly constructed Śāraṅgadhara temple.

2) He had constructed another school named Pratāpanavabhīma śālā at Nanditaṭa i.e. Nanded, a district head quarters in the the Marathwada division of Maharashtra. Kolte has not tried to locate the *śālā*. In this respect a reference to a *śālā* and students studying there is found in the Līlācharitra.[16] It is probably the same *śalā* built by Bhīma, the remains of which are still found in the Holi area of Nanded.

3) He also constructed a Vishṇu temple named Balabhīma at Bhuvanāchala which has not been satisfactorily identified. It is Bhongiri in Bhum taluka of Osmanabad district.[17] The identification is not only based on phonetical similarity, but is confirmed by the existence of a Chalukyan temple at the place which was probably built by Bhīma.

4) Construction of a Śiva temple at Śivapura is another work credited to Bhīma. Its identification is also not perfect. It can therefore be reidentified with Śivur in Nilanga taluka of Latur district in Maharashtra. At this place also, a Chalukyan temple is still extant which was probably built by Bhīma.

5) Another doubtful identification is of the village Murumbikā, granted for the unkeep of the Bhīmēśvara temple at Kalyāṇapura. As it was granted for the temple at Kalyāṇapura, it will have to be located in the vicinity of the Chalukyan captial. Murumbikā cannot be identified with Murum as suggested by Dr. Kolte, because in contemporary inscriptions the place is referred to as Morambapura. On the basis of its proximity with Kalyāṇapura as well as phonetical similarity, Murumbikā can be identified more satisfactorily with Murumbi in Ahmedpur taluka of Latur district, which is very near from the findspot of the present inscription.

On the site of the present village of Gaṇēshvāḍi there existed a forest which is referred to in the present inscription as Mahāvana. Bhīma constructed a tank in this forest which was named as Bhīma-samudra. It was built by closing a natural ravine with a masonry bund. Though the tank is filled with silt, the bund and other remains of this tank are still extant. The site is of utmost importance from the viewpoint of the students of ancient Indian architecture.

On the bank of this Bhīma-samudra the general constructed a temple of Hērambā i.e., Gaṇēśa and set up a school named Sarasvatī-maṇḍapa, the remains of which are also extant at the village of Gaṇēshvāḍi. This Śaivite school gradually developed into a locality now represented by the present village.

A reference to the construction of Kshētrapāla temple also occurs in the Gaṇēshvāḍi inscription. In the light of the discovery of a huge Kshētrapāla image and its open temple at Kandhar, Nanded district, during the course of excavations undertaken by the Deccan College Pune, a thorough survey of this area is essential.

1 *Vidarbha Samaśōdhana Vārshika*, 1969, pp. 36–80.

2 *Epigraphia Indica.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 289 ff. and plate.

3 Ritti and Shelke, *Inscriptions from Nanded district*, Introduction, p. LX.

4 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Sk. 114.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Sk. 316

7 *Ibid.*, Sk. 106.

8 *E.C.*, Vol. V, Cn. 256.

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 281.

10 *Ibid.*, Sk. 106.

11 *Ibid.*,

12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 32.

13 *E. C.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 114.

14 *E. C.*, Vol. VIII, Sk. 277.

15 *Ibid.*

16 See Līlācharitra edited by Dr. S. G. Tulpule

17 All the identifications of place names from Maharashtra are based on the district Census handbooks of 1971 and the Grāmasūchi, published by the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.

5 BRAHMANAS IN EARLY AND MEDIEVAL ANDHRA : STUDY BASED ON INSCRIPTIONS

N. Krishna Reddy

As is well known, brāhmaṇas formed an important and the top of different strata of the Hindu society. They were followed by the kshatriyas, the vaiśyas the śūdras and the chaṇḍālas. It is needless to repeat mythical or professional basis of these divisions which are dealt with again and again by a host of scholars. But it must be noted that by the early period itself, due to various reasons like political, economic, religious, the caste system had undergone certain changes. The Brāhmaṇa, who was supposed to be a spiritual guide unhesitatingly wielded weapons, entered the royal court and became part of the bureaucracy as necessitated by circumstances. That some brāmaṇas cultivated their own lands also is evidenced by some inscriptions.[1] Kshatriya took up agriculture while śūdra rose to be a king Thus warranted by circumstances, members of different castes followed other professions deviating from their original ones. However, this did not result in any radical changes in the composition of the society. The brāhmaṇas, kshatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras remained to be so whatever their profession might be. In this paper, it is proposed to study the position of brāhmaṇas through centuries based on inscriptions. Brāhmaṇas, being the custodians of the spiritual knowledge, were considered to be the highest in rank of all the sections of the Hindu society, and hence commanded respect from all other sections.

However, as noted above, at times, they took to arms and even became kings. We have the earliest historical known example for this in Pushyamitra Śuṅga, a brāhmaṇa, who uprooted Bṛihadratha and occupied the Mauryan throne in c. 184 B.C. The Śātavāhanas, the political successors of the Mauryas in the Andhra country, described themselves as ēkabrāhmaṇa which is taken to mean 'unparalled brāhmaṇa'. The Sālaṅkāyanas, Bṛihatpālāyanas, Ānandagōtras and the Vishṇukuṇḍis who ruled parts of the Āndhra country during the early centuries of Christian era too were considered as brāhmaṇas. It is very well known that Mayūravarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty was originally Mayūraśarman.

With the founding of the Eastern Chāḷukya kingdom by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the royal status of the brāhmaṇas ceased to exist in the Āndhra country. However, from then onwards we find them occupying high positions like *mahāpradhāna*, *samasta sēnādhipati* in the royal courts. In the following lines a brief account of the brāhmaṇas who enjoyed different positions in the administration is given to highlight the part played by them in the society. This gives an insight into the administrative activities of the first caste.

We have an interesting reference to a brāhmaṇa enjoying the complimentary title of *mahārāja* in the Vēmalūrpāḍu plates

of Amma II[2]. Unfortunately we do not know the circumstances which enabled the brāhmaṇa to receive the title. We have numerous epigraphical references to the brāhmaṇas serving as *mahāpradhānas* and *amātyas*.

Likewise, we have many references to the brāhmaṇas serving as commanders of the royal army. The Dīrghāsi plates of Vanapati (1075 A.D.), describes him as a brāhmaṇa of Ātrēya *gōtra* and a *māṇḍalika*. The titles *bhaṇḍanavijaya*, *gaṇḍagōpāla* and *chalamartigaṇḍa* endowed to him undoubtedly point to his valour. He is credited to have defeated in battles the kings of the Vēṅgi country Kimiḍi, Kōsala, the Gidṛisiṅgi country and the Oḍḍa country. Obviously he led the army in fighting these battles as commander-in-chief of the Eastern Gaṅga Rājarāja. It is of further interest that he is also described as a *mahāpratīhāri*, a post which was stated to be a hereditary one[3] One of the inscriptions from Vijayavāḍa (1216 A.D.) records the gift of 55 *inupa-eḍlu* for maintenance of perpetual lamp in the temple of Mallēśvara-mahādēva by Rāyanapeggaḍa who was the *samasta-sēnādhipati* of mahāmaṇḍalika Guṇṭūri Odaya-rāju The former was of the Kauśika *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra*. The Sanskrit portion of the inscription describes him as *dvijakula-tilakas=tantravin=mantrivaryyaḥ*.[4] In the Māṭūra grant of Eastern Gaṅga Dēvēndravarma Rājarāja, a certain Aitamanāyaka was described as a *viprasamudbhava*. The suffix *nāyaka* in his name is noteworthy.[5] The expression *viprasamudbhava* tempts us to surmise that his mother was not a brāhmaṇa women. Instances of brāhmaṇas having girls of other castes as their wives are not wanting.

It is interesting to note that one of the inscriptions from Nādeṇḍla, dated 1138 A.D., states that Gaṇṭaya-peggaḍa obtained the office of *mahāniyōga* by serving the Velanāṭi chief Goṅka (*Kaṁṭah śrī-Velanāṇṭi Goṅkanṛipatiṁ Rājēndra Chōḍāṭmajam bhakty=ārādhya mahāniyōga padavīm prāpya sthiraṁ varttatē*).[6] His forefathers also were in the royal service and the suffix *nāyaka* in the name of his father Śrīdharanāyaka is significant. It may be mentioned in this context that referring to a brāhmaṇa who was in royal service with the suffix *nāyaka* was not uncommon during the medieval period. One of the inscriptions from Drākshārāma refers to Suppunāyaka who was *dvijavara*. This inscription is dated 1064 A. D.[7] We have epigraphical references to the brāhmaṇa names ending with *arasa* and *rāju*,[8] the reason obviously being that they were village chiefs. An inscription from Karakaṇṭhapura (Kurnool district) records the gift of a village, after dividing it into *vṛittis*, to learned brāhmaṇas (names specified) of whom some are referred to as *arasas* and *nāyakas*, though observing vēdic rites.[9] This inscription is dated in the 11th regnal year of Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya Jagadēkamalla corresponding to 1148 A.D. One of the inscriptions from Bejawada dated 1230 A D. records the gift of 40 goats for maintaining a perpetual lamp by certain Viñjarāju, who was the chief of the village Villūru (*Villūri śāsa-nuṇḍu*) in Attilināṇḍu and belonged to the Yājñavalkya-*śakha* and Kāśyapa-*gōtra*.[10]

One of the inscriptions from Drākshārāma, dated 1153 A D., is very significant in that it registers the sale deed of *raṭṭaḍikamu* (office of the village chief) by some brāhmaṇas. It records that some brāhmaṇas who were *bhaṭṭōpādhyāyas* and *bhaṭṭōpādhyāya sōmayājis* sold the *raṭṭaḍikamu* of the village Āṇḍamūru, which they received from the king to Ulaguyyavandapermmāḍi, the brother of Eastern Gaṅga Anantavarma Chōḍa Gaṅga, for 122 *māḍas*. Ulaguyyavandapermmāḍi and his queen gifted the *raṭṭaḍikamu* of this village of the God Bhīmēśvara for providing sandal paste, camphor and food offerings to that god.[11]

We have many instances of brāhmaṇas serving as *sāndhivigrahis* (ministers of war and peace). An inscription from Bezawada (1146 A.D.) refers to a Sōmana-peggaḍa as the *sāndhivigrahi* in the court of *mahāmaṇḍalika* Bhīmana. Sōmana was also described as the lord of the village Origoṇḍi (*Origoṇḍi vallabhuṇḍu*). He belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.[12] Quite a few inscriptions from Bezawada and Drākshārāma present Sōmana as a great philanthrapist. That he served as a *pradhāni* under *mahāmaṇḍalika* Boddana Nārāyaṇadēva is known from another inscription dated 1155 A.D[13] The Ṭekkali plates of Eastern Gaṅga Dēvēndravarman dated in the Gaṅga year 154 were written by Sāṁbapurōpādhyāya, who was a *sarvādhikṛita* and the son of Dharmachandra, who was a *hastyadhyaksha*. The grant was executed by Hariśarman who was *mahāmahattara*. Another copper plate charter, dated in the Gaṅga year 310, refers to a brāhmaṇa donee who was a *su-kavi* and the son of a *mahāpratīhāra* (the chief door keeper).[14]

These are only a couple of many examples to the brahmaṇas holding high offices The offices such as *mahāmahattara sarvādhikṛita, hastyadhyaksha, ājña* or *ājñapti* (executor) and *mahāpratīhāra* were of considerable importance in the bureaucratic set up.[15]

We also know that brāhmaṇas acted as the chief of the gold treasury (*suvarṇa bhāṇḍagārādhipati*).[16] as a *Śrīkaraṇa*,[17] as a royal superintendent (*rājādhyaksha*)[18] and as a member of village assemblies.[19]

References to brāhmaṇas as writers of royal charters are legion. A high officer is generally entrusted with the task of drafting or writing out a charter. As noted above the Ṭekkali plates of the Eastern Gaṅga Indravarman were written by Sāmbapurōpādhyāya who was a *sarvādhikṛita*. The Madras museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman, dated in his 28th regnal year were written by *dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛita talavara* Arjunadatta. The editor of these plates surmises that Arjunadatta was the grandson of *amātya* Arjunadatta who wrote the Kāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman.[20] The China Bādāmu plates of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga, dated 1140 A D., were written by *śāsanādhikāri* Prōlebhaṭṭa, who was the son of *śāsanādhikāri* Jātavēdibhaṭṭōpādhyāya.[21] The designation *śāsanādhikāri* is interesting. It may refer to an official who is empowered to draft the royal charters. It may further be noted that both the son and father were *śāsanādhikāris*, which indicates that it was a hereditary office. We have many references to the hereditary composers of royal charters. Examples of high official brāhmaṇas writing copper plate charters are legion.

Several brāhmaṇas mastered *vēdas* and other religious as well as secular branches of knowledge. There were reputed scholars in the disciplines like medicine, astrology, astronomy, polity, military science and not to speak of vēdic lore. This perhaps suggests that major section of the brāhmaṇas stuck to their original duties namely *yajana*, *yājana*, *adhyayana*, *adhyāpana*, *dāna* and *pratigraha* while others actively participated in the administration of the state.

A careful scrutiny of the inscriptions of early and medieval period reveals that the number of the brāhmaṇas belonging to Yajurvēda was considerably higher than those who studied the other three *vēdas*. It may further be noted that the *Sāmavēdins* were in considerable number in the Āndhra country during the same period though their number is negligible at present. The fact that the *Yajurvēdins* received better royal patronage is an evidence to the flourishing state of rituals connected with vēdic sacrifices. Another noteworthy factor is that none of the inscriptions of our period refers to the subsects among the brāhmaṇas like *niyōgi* and *vaidiki*. The only subdivisions found among the brāhmaṇas in the inscriptions were of a territorial origin. As is well known the Andhra country was divided into geographical divisions like *hāra*, *vishaya*, *rāshṭra*, *nāḍu*. The Brāhmaṇas belonging to different divisions were known after their native geographical units. Thus we have Kamma-brāhmaṇas who obviously belonged to Kamma-nāḍu.[22]

Immigration and Migration of Brāhmaṇas

Quite a few inscriptions of our period shed welcome light on immigration of large numbers of Brāhmaṇas from different places into the Āndhra country. Migrations caused by various factors like political, social and religious are not uncommon. It appears from the inscriptions that considerable number of brāhmaṇas migrated to and from the Āndhra country. This may be because brāhmaṇas of deep scholarship in different disciplines were invited and patronised by the kings of even distant lands. "The Ikshvaku king Santamula's reign witnessed, nay, was responsible for, a great wave of immigration, particularly of brahmin settlers, in Andhradēśa from the north and the north west. The immigrants came, in all probability, at the invitation of the emperor Vasishtitputra Sri Santamula, for he was the first sovereign in Dakshinapatha, who, after a lapse of more than a century, revived the vedic sacrifices, and particularly the celebrated *vajapeya* and *asvamedha*."[23]

The *Śukla Yajurvēda*, otherwise known as the *Vājasanēya śākha*, named as such after Vājasanēya, consists of fifteen *śākhas*, of which the *Kāṇva* and the *Mādhyandina-śākhas* are the prominent ones. Brāhmaṇas of the *Vājasanēya* school seem to have immigrated into the coastal Āndhra country from the North in large numbers, in the early centuries of the Christian era during the Pallava period.

It appears from a few inscriptions that learned brāhmaṇas migrated even

from Kashmir to the Āndhra country. The Mukhaliṅgam plates of Anantavarma Chōḍa Gaṅga dated 1108 A.D. records that the king made the gift of the village Loḍalu *alias* Prōlavaram as *grāmagrāsa* with all benefits to the learned brāhmaṇa Nāgabhaṭṭa who hailed from Kāśmīra-dēśa and his four sons. Nāgabhaṭṭa and his father Bhaṭṭōtpala were stated to be scholars.[24] Another inscription from Pañchaliṅgāla in Kurnool district, belonging to Kalyāṇa Chālukya Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara II and dated 1068 A.D., mentions a Kāśmīra-paṇḍita, who was the *mahāsthānādhipati* of the temple of Pañchaliṅgadēva.[25] In these two instances it is possible that the scholars referred to as Kāśmīra-paṇḍitas would have hailed from the Kāśmīra-dēśa.

According to an undated stone inscription at Uppuṭūru (in the Bapatla taluk of Guntur district) Trilōchanapallava *alias* Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi, a Pallava king whose name is preserved only in tradition and whose identity has not yet been finally established, granted Lavaṇapura or the modern Upputūru as an *agrahāra* to one thousand brāhmaṇas, followers of Yājñavalkya, who are said to have come from the town of Ahichchhatrapura on the banks of the Gaṅges.[26]

As evidenced by the well-discussed Malkāpuram inscriptions during the reign of Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva the Pāśupata *śaivas* belonging to the *Gōḷakī-maṭha* in the Ḍāhaḷa country gained popularity among the masses as well as the rulers. In fact, Viśvēśvara Śiva of this school was the *rājaguru* of Gaṇapati and his daughter Rudrama. Viśvēśvara Śiva hailed from Pūrvagrāma in the Gauḍa country.[27]

Eastern Chāḷukya Bhīma I is known to have provided a number of gifts and house-sites near Gantasala to the immigrants who hailed from Maharashtra.[28]

One of the inscriptions from Kolanupāka, belonging to the reign of Kākatīya Rudrama, registers the gift of land to a certain Anantanāyaka of the Lāṭa country (modern Gujarat). However, his caste is not specified though the other two beneficiaries were specified as *vipras*. Unfortunately no other details regarding Anantanāyaka of Lāṭa are recorded.[29]

The Ēlūru grant of Sarvalōkāśraya, dated in his 10th regnal year, records the grant of land to Śrīdharaśarman who was the inhabitant of Ayyavōlu (modern Aihoḷe in Karṇāṭaka) on the occasion of the *annaprāśana* ceremony of the prince Vishṇuvardhana (III).[30] We already know that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the *pradhāni* of Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya Trailōkyamalla migrated from Karnāṭaka to Vēṅgi and became a close associate of Nannayabhaṭṭa.

The Kāṭlaparru grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya records the gift of the village Kāṭlaparru in Vēṅgi-*vishaya* by the king to his brāhmaṇa general Rājāditya who distinguished himself in the king's wars by his valour. Rājāditya is described as the son of Peddana and greatgrandson of Kumāramūrti who studied the *Vēdas* and was also described as the master of the villages, Kālūru and Vāyalūru (Chingleput district). It is stated that Kumāramūrti migrated to the Vēṅgi

country as he could not bear the insolent treatment meted out to him by the Toṇḍaimāṇ king Kāḍuveṭṭi and settled at Uṇḍi (West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh).[31]

It is quite well known that the Chōḷa prince Virachōḍa made gifts of lands to a number of brāhmaṇas who hailed from the Tamil country during his viceregality over Āndhra.[32] Among them a number of shaḍaṅgavids, sahasras, bhaṭṭas, sōmayājins, trivēdibhaṭṭas as well as paurāṇikas, a vaidya, a vishavādin and a jyautisha were there. Even today the Tamil brāhmaṇas who had settled in the Āndhra area are known as the Drāviḍa brāhmaṇas and they are referred to after their native village as Pērūru Drāviḍulu, Pudūru Drāviḍulu, Ārāma Drāviḍulu, etc.

An inscription from Māchupalli belonging to the time of Sōmidēvamahārāja, and dated 1255 A.D., gives interesting information about immigration of the Malayāḷa brāhmaṇas. This inscription states that the Kāyastha chief Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi obtained from the king the village of Maśaruppaḷḷi and that he (i.e., Gaṅgaya-sāhaṇi) in his turn made over the village as a gift to Kālaḍa Vāsudēva-nāyaka who hailed from Malaimaṇḍalam (i.e., Malabar). This nāyaka again in his turn granted a part of village as *brahmapuri* to a brāhmaṇa Perumāḷ. Of the remaining lands in the village he gifted away one share to the temple of Siddhavaṭamuḍaiya-nāyanār for maintaining offerings and worship. The rest of the land was endowed to a Malayānimaṭha in the village for offerings and alms to the *Ēkadaṇḍi-sanyāsins* and for feeding Malaiyana brāhmaṇas living in the *maṭha* and engaged in religious penance.[33]

As brāhmaṇas immigrated from the far off countries like Kashmir in the North and Kerala in the south to the Āndhra country, many Āndhra brāhmaṇas migrated to distant lands. The migration of the celebrated Kannaḍa poets Pampa and Jina-vallabha, who were Kammabrāhmaṇa brothers, from Vēṅgi to Karṇāṭaka is too well-known to be dealt with here in detail. We know from a few copper plate charters of the later Pallava kings that many brāhmaṇas of the Āndhra country received lands or *agrahāras* from the kings who gifted them in recognition of their scholarship. The Pullūru plates refer to the donee brāhmaṇas who hailed from the West Godavari and Guntur districts. Another copper plate charter from Tāṇḍantōṭṭam also furnishes some of the names of the donees along with their native villages which are situated in the Āndhra country. These are Kāraṁbichēḍu (Kāramchēḍu), Tanukkerli (Taṇuku), Irakkambaṟṟu (Itikaṁpāḍu), Karañjai (Krāñja or Kāja), Peṇukkipaṟṟu (Peṇukapaṟṟu), Vēlipaṟṟu (Vēlpūru), Nūtilapaṟṟu (Nūtulapaṟṟu), etc. All these places are included in the present Guntur, Krishna and Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. Mention of these place names along with the personal names indicate that these scholars migrated to the Tamil country. It is not improbable that this migration could have taken place when the Pallavas shifted the scene of their activities from Andhra to Tamil country.[34] The Jambagam plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III record the gift

of a village to a brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara-bhaṭṭa who migrated from Vēṅgi-vishaya to Paṭṭaha-vishaya in Maharashtra.

The foregoing account bears eloquent testimony to migration from and immigration to the Āndhra country by learned brāhmaṇas. In a majority of cases it appears that brāhmaṇas who were reputed scholars were invited by the king of the country.

Notes -

1. *HAS*. 19, No. Km. 6, Second face, lines 1-3: Also see *EA*. Vol. *I*, pp. 115 ff.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 226 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV. pp. 314 ff. Also see pp. 311 ff.
4. *SII.*, Vol. IV, No. 712; Also see Nos. 755, 764 and 927.
5. *C.P. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, Vol. I, pp. 153 ff.
6. *SII.*, Vol. IV, No. 664.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 1013.
8. In course of time the personal name suffix *rāju* became very common among the niyōgi brāhmaṇas. It is interesting to note that this suffix is not found among the vaidika brāhmaṇas, who never entered the royal service.
9. *SII.* Vol. IX, Part I, No. 250, text lines 41-43.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 728.
11. *Ibid.*, No. 1186. For the sale of *raṭṭaḍikamu* also see Ibid., Nos. 1237, 1247, 1281, 1288 and 1291.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 749.
13. *Ibid*, No. 753.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311 ff.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.
16. *EA*. Vol. III, pp. 16 ff.
17. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 12, pp. 91 ff.
18. *SII.*, Vol. VI, No. 132.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 138 ff.

20. *Ibid.*, XXVIII., pp. 226 ff.

21. *EA.*, Vol. II, pp. 56 ff.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 28 text line 1; *SII.*, Vol. VI, No. 235; *SII.*, Vol. IV, No. 664.

23. B.V. Krishna Rao, *History of the Early Dynasties of Āndhradēśa*, p. 50.

24. *EA.*, Vol. IV, pp. 33 ff.

25. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 139 ff.

26. 799 of 1922; also see M. Somasekhara Sarma, *History of the Reddi kingdoms*, p. 256.

27. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 395.

28. *JESI.*, Vol. VIII, p. 49.

29. *HAS.*, 13, No. 25, VV. 21 & 22.

30. *JAHRS.*, Vol. XII, pp. 49 ff.

31. A3/1939; JESI., Vol. VIII, p. 49.

32. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 70 ff.

33. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 144 ff.

34. *JESI*, Vol. VIII, p. 49.

6 AHICHCHHATRA SEALING OF THE KUMBHAKARA GUILD

S. P. Shukla

The Clay sealing, acquired from Ahichchhatrā (District Bareilly, U P.) and now in the collection of the Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar (Haryana), bearing the legend *Kumbhakāra seṇiyai* within a square incuse in *Brāhmī* characters, seems to be an important document of economic history of ancient India. The sealing is illustrated in the book of Swami Omanand Saraswati[1]. It is described as 'clay seal from Ahichchhatrā, inscribed *Kumbhakāra Seṇayai*' without any comment. This does not, however, bring out the real purport of the sealing in question. The Sanskrit rendering of the *Brāhmī* legend would be *Kumbhakāra Śrēṇyai* with its translation as '(Seal) for the potter guild.' Thus it is a real-impression of the potters of Ahichchhatrā who had organised themselves into a guild or corporate body. It may be assigned to first century A.D., on palaeographic grounds.

The archaeologists trace the antiquity of pottery-making from the Neolithic period or with the beginning of the settled life. During the protohistoric and subsequent periods it developed into an important industry. But the evidence of the organisation of the pottery trade into a guild is comparatively a late phenomenon in Indian history. It is only from the early historical period onwards that such an evidence comes at our disposal. A *jātaka* refers to a potter who had engaged a hired labourer for the purpose of pottery-making.[2] The *Mahāvastu*[3] includes the Kumbhakāra in the list of eleven artisan's guilds. So also we have the evidence of the Nāsik[4], Kaman[5] and Siyadōṇi[6] epigraphs assignable between 3rd and 9th century A.D. The *Amarakōśa*[7] which names different guilds also refers to the Kumbhakāra *śrēṇī*.

The inscriptional evidence, referred to above, shows that the Kumbhakāra guild, also acted as a bank. From Nāsik inscription we come to know that one thousand *Kārshāpaṇas* were deposited with the *Kulirika* (Kambhakāra) - *śrēṇī* as permanent endowment so that from its interest the *śrēṇī* as permanent endowment so that from its interest the medical facilities could be provided to the Buddhist *saṁgha* situated at Triraśmi mountain. The Kaman inscription of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra period also refers to the guild of potter (*Kumbhakārāṇām śrēṇyā*), besides those of the *Mālākāra* (garland makers) and *Sthapati* (artisans). It is said that a sum of money was deposited with them in advances. As an agreement they had agreed to pay a permanent cess of one *paṇa* per wheel to be paid monthly by every one of its members. Another inscription of the same period discovered at Siyadōṇi (Lalitpur, U.P.) speaks about one merchant Nāgaka, son of Chaṇḍu, who had made an endowment acquired of certain potters to the effect that the distillers of spirituous liquor on every cask of liquor would give liquor worth a *vigrahapāla dramma* to the god Vishṇu.

The ancient literature and epigraphs refer to various *śrēṇis* existing in ancient India. But the seals of only a few *srēṇis* are known. The seal of the guild of milkmen (*Gavāyaka*), and forest of Vārāṇasi (*Āraṇyaka*) are known from Rājghāṭ[8]. The seals engraved with the names such as *Tambōlika* (betel-dealers) from Kumrahar and *Nāvika* (boatsmen) from Kauśāmbī are also regarded as belonging to their respective guilds[9]. The sealing of the Kumbhakāra *śrēṇī* from Ahichchhatrā is thus an addition to our knowledge from this point of view. Besides, it would not be out of place to point out that Ahichchhatrā is well-known for its terracotta art activity[10]. The colossal and artistic images of Gaṅgā-Yamunā and big panels portraying the Śaivite themes, which adorned the brick temple at the site, are widely known. These, however, does not appear to be a handy work of an individual potter-artist as in such a big undertaking a lot of supervision is needed and the commissioning of good potter-artists is required. This may have been the work of the potters guild which existed at Ahichchhatrā during the early century of the Christian era as evident from the obove sealing.

Notes :

1 *Haryāṇe Kē Mudrāṅka*, Jhajjar, *Saṁ* 2031, fig. 304.

2 *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 372 ; R. S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India* (Hindi Trans.), New Delhi, 1979, p. 90.

3 *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 463–78.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 89, No. 15, Lüder's list No. 1137.

5 *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXIV, p. 331 ; B. N. Puri, *The History* of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras*, Bombay, 1957, p. 130.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 162–79.

7 *Amarakōśa*, II, 10, 6.

8 K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow, 1972, pp. 237–38.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 241–42.

10 *Ancient India.*, No. 4, 1948.

7 EPIGRAPHICAL NOTE ON VERSE IN THE DABHOI STONE INSCRIPTION

H. V. Trivedi

A verse of the Ḍabhōi inscription[1] edited by Bühler in the *Ep Ind.*, Vol. I, reads as follows :

Tulyē=pi Śaly-ōddharaṇa-prabhāvē
Yudhishṭhirād dhvasta-samasta-bandhōḥ
Samunnayann=ēsha kulaṁ svakīyam
Utkṛishṭa-kīrttiḥ pratibhāsatē mē

It may be translated as follows :

Though his magnanimity was similar to that of Yudhishṭhra, in rescuing (and destroying) Śalya (a thorn and the epic hero), he (Vīradhavala), as it appears to me, excelled Yudhishṭhira, who destroyed (his own) kinsmen, where as, he elevated them.

In this verse the superiority of the Vāghelā Vīradhavala to that of the epic hero is poetically shown by saying that whereas the later destroyed his own kinsmen (the Kauravas), the former helped his relatives, i.e., the Chaulukyas, in raising themselves.

But the first quarter of this verse has a *double entendre*, making it applicable to both ; to Yudhishṭhira in destroying his enemies and also to Vīradhavala in helping his kinsmen, by establishing Śalya. This Śalya may have been a petty chief, siding Vīradhavala against his enemies. His identity has still not been established and possibly he may have been an enemy of the Chāhamanā Udayasiṁha, son of Chāchigadēva, as mentioned in the Sūndhā hill inscription[2].

It is well known that Vīradhavala, who assumed the crown amidst universal applause, in A. D. 1225 when the main Chalukya branch had ceased to reign had been struggling against the Yādava Siṅghaṇa on one side and the Paramāra ruler Dēvapāla and his son and successor Arjunavarman on the other, as known from the Ḍabhōi record itself referred to above. And it is fair to presume that this so far unidentified Śalya may have sided Vīradhavala, as he is also said to have been an enemy of the Chāhamāna king. No more information we still have on this point.

Notes :

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 20 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 74 ff.

8 YUDDHAPURA GRANT OF RAJARAJA DEVENDRAVARMA, Śaka 998

M. Krishna Kumari

This copper plate along with the copper plate grant of king Rājēndravarman was discovered in the month of May, 1985 while digging for the bricks in the fields near to the temple of Kāmaliṅgēśvarasvāmī at Gallavalli. Gallavalli is a small village and is about 15 km. away from Rajam in Bobbili Taluk of Vizianagaram dist., A.P.

The inscription is written on three plates, each measuring 25.5 cms. by 12.5 cms. The thickness of the plates is 0.6 cms. and the ring-hole diameter is 2 cms. These plates were stung together on a ring, and the ends of it were soldered below the king's seal. The seal of the plates contains a seated *nandi* in relief, like the one on the top of a pillar and is associated with the usual Eastern Gaṅgā emblems of sun, moon, *aṅkuśa*, sword to the right and drum, conch and *chāmara* to the left. The weight of these with the ring and the seal is 3.700 gms. The third plate is inscribed only on the inner side while the other two plates have inscription on both the sides. There are altogether 47 lines of writing. Their distribution on the various faces of the plates are as follows : III A-9 lines, II A- 10 lines, II B- 10 lines, I A- 10 lines, I B-8 lines. The edges of the plates are raised into rims and the preservation of the inscription is satisfactory. An interesting fact about the record is that the beginning of the document is written on the inner side of the third plate, continued on both the sides of the second plate followed by the inner side and finally completed on the outer side of the first plate. Moreover, the inscription is incomplete and ended abruptly without any usual imprecatory or benedictory verses and of any reference to the officials or scribes who were responsible for the preparation of the document. Two other records of the king, issued in the same year also ends abruptly in the same manner.[1]

The script of the inscription is East Indian variety of the Nāgarī of 11th century A.D. It is the same as that employed in the copper plate grants of the early members of the Imperial Gaṅgā family.[2] The language used in the record is Sanskrit and is composed in both prose and verse. The *praśasti* of the Eastern Gaṅgā family and the genealogy mentioned in the present grant are identical with the other grants of the same king. As regards orthography also, the inscription closely resembles the other copper plate records of the king. Like the records of Vajrahasta III, the sign for *v* is used for *b* also as in *mahāśavda* for *mahāśabda* (1.6), *samupalavdha* for *samupalabdha* (1.7), *śakāvdē* for *śākābdē* (1. 25, 38, 46). Incorrect spellings such as *siṅgha* for *simha* (1.38), *subhē* and *saṁśikta* (1.39) for *saṁsikta*. Final forms of the letters are expressed by giving a stroke below the

letter, as in *nivahān* (1.11) and *varaṇān* (1.31).

The date of the charter is given in the chronogram *vasu-nanda-nidhi* of the Śaka era, i.e., Śaka 998, while the details of the date quoted are *vishuvu-samkrānti* in the month of *Tulā*. The date of the grant thus appears to be 1076 A.D.

The purport of the inscription is to record the gift of the village Yuddhapura in Samvā-*vishaya* by Rājarāja Dēvēndra-varma to Pallaya Śa [rma], son Durggaya Śarma, for the increase of the merit and fame of the king and his parents.

King Rājarāja Dēvēndravarma issued the grant from Kaliṅganagara, which can be identified with Mukhaliṅgam in the Srikakulam district. He was styled as *Parama-māhēśvara* and *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati.*

In the *praśasti*, the Gaṅgas are described as the rulers of Tri-Kaliṅga and as belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra*, and as having obtained the conch-shell, drum, the five great sounds, the white umbrella, the golden fly-wisk and the bull-emblem or crest by the grace of lord Gōkarṇṇasvāmi (1.5,6). The following is the genealogy mentioned in the present charter (.9-35), which agrees with that referred to in the other copper plate records of Vajrahasta, III, the father and predecessor of the issuer of the present grant as well as the records of Anantavarma Chōḍa Gaṅga,[3] his son and successor.

Guṇamahārṇava
- Vajrahasta (I) 44 years
  - Guṇḍama (I) 3 years
  - Kāmārṇava (I) 35 years
    - Vajrahasta (II) alias Aniyaṅka Bhīma 35 years
      - Kāmārṇava (II) 1/2 year, married Vinaya Mahādēvī of Vaidumba family
        - Anantavarma Vajrahasta (III) (coronation in Śaka 960) 33 years, married Anaṅga Mahādēvī
          - Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman (coronation in Śaka 992; donor of the present grant)
      - Guṇḍama (II) 3 years 19 years
      - Madhu—Kāmārṇava
  - Vinayāditya 3 years

While making the donation, like the other village grants of Rājarāja Dēvēn-dravarman,[4] the present grant also does not refer to it as an *agrahāra* donation. Thereby it appears that the donee Pallaya Śa[rma] is liable to pay rent or cess for his holdings.

As regards the gift-village Yuddha-pura, it may be identified with the present Vuddavolu in Bobbili Taluk of Vizia-nagaram district.[5] It is stated in the record that the gift village is located in Samvā-*vishaya*. The same *vishaya* is known from the records of Vajrahasta III[6], Anantavarma Chōḍa Gaṅgadēva[7] and Rājarāja Dēvēndra-varmaṅ.[8] It is generally considered by the

scholars that the area would correspond to the present Chipurupalli and Bobbili Taluks of Vizianagaram district. The donee is mentioned in the grant as resident of the village, Śrīpura. The village is mentioned in Koroshaṇḍa grant of Viśākhavarman, the ruler of Kaliṅga.[9] It may be identical with Siripuram in Visakhapatnam district, three miles south of the Nāgāvalī river[10].

TEXT [11]

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 11, 13, 16 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 6, 12, 14 *Anushṭubh ;* verses 10, 15 *Vasantatilaka ;* verses 5, 9 *Mālinī* ; verses 7, 8 *Gīti* ; verse 4 *Vaṁśasthavila*]

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

1 Om[12] Svasti Śrīmatām=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshiṇya[13] satya-

2 śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām-Ātrēya-gōtrāṇāṁ vimala-vichār-

3 āchāra-puṇya-salila-prakshālita-kali-kāla-kalmasha-mashīṇām mahā-Mahēndr-āchala-śi-

4 khara-pratishṭitasya sa-char-āchara-gurōḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūtradhāra-

5 sya śaśāṅka-chūḍāmaṇēr=bbhagavatō Gōkaraṇṇasvāminaḥ prasādāt=samāsādit-ai-

6 ka śaṅkha-bhērī-pañcha-mahāśavda(bda) -dhavala-chchhatra-hēma-chāmara-vara-vṛishabha-lāñchhana-

7 samujva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmrājya-mahīmnām-anēka-sa[ma*]ra-saṅghaṭṭa-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakshmī-sa[mā]-

8 liṅgit-ōttuṅga-bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānām Trikaliṅga-mahībhujāṁ Gaṅgānām = anvayam=alaṅkari-

9 [shṇōr]=Vvishṇōr=iva vikram=ākrānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya Guṇamahā[rṇa]va-mahārājasya [putraḥ]

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

10 ॥o॥[14] pūrvvaṁ bhūpatibhir=vvibhajya vasudhā yā pañchabhiḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramō bhu-

11 ja-va(ba)lāt=tām=ēka ēva svayaṁ ēkīkṛitya vi[ji*]tya śattru-nivahān śrī Vajrahastaś=chatuś=chatvāriṁśa-

12 tam=aty-udāra-charitaḥ sarvām=arakshit=samāḥ ॥[1*] Tasya tanayō Guṇḍama-rājā-(jō) varsha-trayam=apālaya-

13 d-ma[hīm]॥ Tad=anujaḥ Kāmārṇṇavadēvaḥ pañcha-triṁśatam=avda(abda)kān॥ Tasy-ānujō=Vinayādityas=samā-

14 s=tisraḥ॥ Tataḥ Kāmārṇṇavāj=jātō jagatī-Kalpabhūruhaḥ । yō-rājad rājita-chchhāyō Vajrahastō=

15 'vanīpatiḥ॥[2*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdha)-madhupa-vyālīḍha-gaṇḍān =gajānn=artthi-bhyas=samadā-

16 t=sahasram=atulā(tō) yas=tyāginām=agraṇissaḥ (ṇīḥ । sa) śrīmān=Aniyaṅka-Bhīma-nṛipatir=Gaṅgānvay-ōttaṁ-

17 sakaḥ pañcha-triṁśatam=avda(bda)kān=samabhunak=pṛithvīṁ stutaḥ pārtthivaiḥ॥ [3*][॥*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ-Surarāja-

18 sūnunā samas=samastāṁ samit-āri-maṇḍalaḥ । sma pāti Kāmārṇṇava-bhūpatir=bbhuvaṁ samṛiddhimān=

19 arddha-samāṁ samujvalaḥ ॥ [4*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmā chitta-janm-ōpamānō guṇa-

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

20 Guṇḍam=ākhyō mahīśaḥ[।*]sasakalam(sakalam)-idam=arakshat=triṇi-varshāṇi dhā-trī-valayam=a-laghu-tējō-nirjji-

21 t-ārāti chakraḥ॥[5*] Tatō dvaimāturasa=tasya Madhukāmārṇṇavō nṛipaḥ । Avati sm=āvanīm=ētām=avda(abdā)n=ē-

22 kān-na-viṁśatiṁ ॥ [6*] Atha Vajrahasta-nṛipatēr-agra-sutād=akhila-guṇi-janāgra-[ga*]ṇyaḥ [।*] Kāmā-

23 rṇṇavāt=kavīndra-pragīyamān-āvadāta śubha-kīrttēḥ ॥[7*] Śriya iva Vaidumb=ānvaya -payaḥ-payō-

24 nidhi-samubhbha(dbha)vāyāś=cha[।*] yaḥ samajani Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ Śrī Vajra-hasta iti ta-

25 nayaḥ ॥ [8*] *Viyad-ṛitu-nidhi-saṁkhyāṁ yāti Śāk-āv(b)da saṅghē Dinakṛiti Vṛishabha-sthē Rōhi-*

26 *ṇī-bhē sulagnē* । *Dhanushi cha sita-pakshē sūryya-vārē tritīyāṁ(yā) yuji* sakala dharitrīṁ rakshi[tuṁ]

27 Yō=bhishiktaḥ ॥[9*] Nyāyāyyēna yatra samam=ācharituṁ trivarggē (rggaṁ) mārggēṇa rakshati mahīṁ-mahita-pratāpe ।

28 nirvvyādhyayaś-cha niraghāś=cha nirāpadaś=cha śaśvat=prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūti-matyaḥ ॥[10*] Vyāptē [Ga]-

29 ṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravālē śaśi-pra[dyot]-āmalinēna yasya bhuvanaḥ (na)-[prahlā]

FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE

30 da-sampādinā[।*] Saindūrair=ati-sāndra-paṅka paṭalaiḥ kumbha sthalī paṭṭakēshv-alim-panti punaḥ pu-

31 naś=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vā(vā) raṇān ॥[11*] Anurāgēṇa guṇinō yasya vakshō mukh-āvj(bj)ayōḥ ।

32 Āsinē Śrī Sarasvatyāv=anukūlē virājataḥ ॥ o ॥[15] [12*] Āgachchhann=uru vikramēṇa-sahasā-śastr=ābhi-

33 ghātād=divō-yēn=āvyāhata-viśvavṛitti-mahimā hēlā-nirastō-śaniḥ । ten-ākāri-nikāma -kāmya-

34 tanunā rājyam mahī-maṇḍalē triṁśad-vatsaram=abhra-su(śu)bhra-yaśasā-varsha-tra-yēṇ=ādhikaṁ[16] ॥ [13*] Tatō=

35 naṅga-mahādēvyāṁ Vajrahast-mahīpatēḥ । Gauryām=iva-Harasy-ābhūt = Kārttikēya-iva =

36 ātmajaḥ ॥ [14*] Lakshmī-vadhū-vadana-paṅkaja-makaranda sandōha-chāru-pari-chumva (mba)na-chaṁcharīka-

37 ḥ। yō māninām cha guṇinām cha-durātmanām cha sā(śā)ntiṁ cha modam= atulaṁ cha bhayaṁ cha dattē ।[15*] *Sā*

38 *kāvdē(bdē) nayanāvja(bja)-garbha nidhi-gē Jē(Jyē)shṭhē= shṭami-siṅgha(ṁha)kē lagnē ch= ōttara-Phalgu(ṇi)ṇī-guru-dinē pakshē-*

39 su-śubhrē śubhē । Lokālōka-mahā-mahīdhra-valay-ālaṁkāra-vatyā bhuvas-saṁśi(si)-ktas= sa Ka-

FIRST PLATE : FIRST SIDE

40 liṅgarāja-tilakaḥ-Śrī-Rājarājō-nṛipaḥ ॥ o ॥ [16*][17] Kaliṅganagarāt-parama-māhēśvara-parama-

41 bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-*Trikaliṅg-ādhipati*-Śrīmad *Dēvēndravarmā Rājarājadē-*

42 vaḥ kuśalī samast =āmātya-pramukha-janapadān-samāhūya samājñāvayati vidi-
43 tam=astu-bhavataṁ(tām) । *Samvā vishayē Yuddhapurākhyō*-grāmaś-chatus-sīm-ā-
44 vachchhinnas= sa-jala-sthalas-sarvva-pīḍā-vivarjjitāṁ(taḥ) āchandr-ārkka-sama-kālaṁ
45 yāvat mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē *Vasu-nanda-nidhi-ga-*
46 *ṇitē-śākāvdē(bdē)*।[18] *Tulā-māsē-vishuvati-saṁkrāntyāṁ* । *Śrīpura-grāma-nivāsi* ।[19] [Śā]-
47 ṇḍilya-gōtra-Vājasanēyaka Duggaya-śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Palla[va]-Śa][rmma]-

Notes :

1 *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol : XXVIIII., pp. 238 ff ; Ibid, Vol. XX, pp. 171–176ff ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol : XXXI, p. 191–196

2 For a list of inscriptions of Vajrahasta III, (father of Rājarāja Dēvēndravarma (who issued the copper plates under study) see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXII, p. 310 ; N. Ramesan., *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 137 ff ; C. Somasundara Rao, *Epigraphia Andhrica*, vol. IV, p. 25–34 ; See also Rājarāja Dēvēndravarma's own grants (C.P. No. 4 of 1918-19), *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp 171 ff ; also *Ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 171–176 and the same published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 191–196.

3 Excepting the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma Chōḍa Gaṅga, dated Śaka 1040 (*Ind. Ant.*, XVIII pp. 165 ff), his Kōrni plates, dated Śaka 1034 (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 106 ff) and Chinna Badamu plates dated in Śaka 1062 (*Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. II, pp. 56-72). These plates state that Vajrahasta was the son of Madhu Kāmārṇava.

4 *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 191-196 ; *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 176 ff.

5. It has been observed that the place names ending with *pura* and *puram* had been substituted by *Prōlu* or *Ōlu*, in course of time. For example, Kṛishṇarāyapuram had been changed to Koppolu Cuddapah Dst) and Niravadyapura to Nidadavolu (E. Godavari Dst.) ; See P. Naga Mallesvara Rao., "Renaming in Telugu Place Names", *Studies In Indian Place Names*, Vol. VI, p., 71-86.

6 N Ramesan, *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Vol I, p. 144.

7 *Ibid.*, pp 154-55 ; *Ind. Ant.*,Vol. XVIII, pp. 161 ff.

8 N. Ramesan., *op.cit.*, pp. 154-55.

9 *Ep Ind.*, Vol XXI, p. 24

10 The Bhūmikhāṇḍa of the *Padmapurāṇa* mentions the city as situated in Kaliṅga.

11 From the plates and the impressions.

12 Expressed by a symbol.

13 The punctuation mark is unneccessary.

14 The two double *daṇḍ as* here with a globular mark in between indicate the separation of the following part in verse from the foregoing section in prose.

15 There are two double *daṇḍ as* here with a globular mark between them. to indicate the separation of the foregoing part quoted from the grants of Vajrahasta III from the following portion composed by the court poet of Rājārāja.

16 To the description of Vajrahasta III,-this stanza was added by the court-poet of Rājarāja I.

17 There are two double *daṇḍ as* here, with a globular mark between them, to indicate the separation of the foregoing introductory part in verse from the following grant portion in prose.

18 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

19 This is to indicate that the donee was a resident of the village Śrīpura.

9 RAJARAJA'S MEASURES FOR ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF ENDOWMENTS AND TEMPLE SERVICES

R. Tirumalai

The year 1985 marks the thousandth year after the accession of Rājarāja-I to the Chōḷa throne. Rājarāja-I was known to be a great conqueror who brought the whole of Southern India under his direct sway from sea to sea and also brought under his influence the kingdoms on the north bordering the Chāḷukyan Empire. It is rarely in history that a conqueror is himself an able administrator, who could set up an organisation that can at once see to the implicit obedience of the royal commands in the farthest part of the empire, and at the same time leave in tact the local initiative and autonomy of the township organisation. Rājarāja's singular achievement was this paradoxical welding of the central authority with local initiative.

He, however, did not leave things entirely to the townships unchecked and allow them to default. Conscious steps were taken to tighten the administration of endowments to see that the lands or the land revenue assignments due to the temples were realised and full appropriation of the realisation was made and the endowments were utilised for the specific objects for which they were instituted. These observations are fully substantiated by epigraphic evidence. Its spread both in time and over the area indicates that right through the reign and from the northern most to the southern most point of the empire the impact of the royal check and control was felt, and it was all to the good.

Two records of Rājarāja-I in his 14th and 15th years respectively (999 A.D., and 1000 A.D.) from Suchīndram are very significant bringing out the relationship between the *Mūlaparuḍai Sabhaiyār*, the Brahmin executive council in charge of the temple affairs, and the *Mahāsabhā* of this *Brahmadēya* township.

Nṛipaśēkharanallūr was an ancient *Dēvadāna* village endowed to the Suchīndam deity, together with its southern adjunct Teṉvaḷanallūr. In 999 A.D. in the month of Vrichchiga (November - December) Periyān Mūvēnda Vēḷān, (presumably a Chōḷa royal official) had ordered that the under-tenants having sub-occupancy in the temple lands (*Kīḻ Kārāṇmai Uḍaya Kuḍigaḷ*) and their co-parceners (*Dāyādi Uḍayār*) who held lands shall deliver to the landlord interests (*Mīyāṭchiuḍayār*), as in all Nāñjil-nāḍu villages 3 *kalams* per *mā* (66 cents) for all yielding lands. He later revised his own order, and increased the levy to 3 *kalam* and 1 *tūni* per *mā* on all yielding lands. Excluding the *Muṟaipaḍi* the share due at this rate shall be measured by the *Munnāḷi Nārāyam*, the authentic measure of the deity, and shall be transported to the temple at their cost and measured out to the temple. This rate was per crop; and it would be double for a double crop land. Lands

on which (tenancy or occupancy) obligation had not been fastened shall be supervised by the temple executives or priests (*Dēvakanmi*). Those who negated this command shall suffer the penalty for those who transgressed the royal command, besides being held as heretics who had violated Śiva dharma.[1]

This evidence is significant. In Rājarāja's time, there was a tightening of land administration and of the charitable endowments. The royal official had fixed initially a general rate of 3 *kalams* of paddy per *mā* on all occupancy-holders in townships in Nāñjil-nāḍu, payable to the landlords or the holders of land under grant or assignment by the king. He thought it fit to himself raise it by 1 *tūni* per *mā* or by about 11 per cent on a single crop or by 22 per cent on double crop lands. This was particularly ordered to be paid by the tenants in the Dēvadāna village, endowed to the temple, and their co-parceners. It could perhaps be inferred that the sub-occupancy tenancy on temple lands could be inherited or could devolve on co-parceners but might not be sold or made a usufructory mortgage of to aliens. In addition they had the obligation to deliver paddy at the temple, and measure out the paddy by the authorised temple measure. This implied the transport charges,[2] the losses in storage till delivery and the driage and the loading and unloading expenses–all had to be borne by the sub-tenants themselves and were to their account.

Perhaps, there could have been some under-assessment, or it might be that the increase was ordered specially on *Dēvadāna* lands as distinguished from other private holdings. In the latter case, it was done despite the fact that some lands assessed and held on *Dēvadāna* tenure had no occupants yet taking over the parcels. This much is certain- the sub-occupancy holders were asked to pay more as their share to the grantees and were left with less. Naturally a disinclination to accept the enhanced obligation would have been the result. The term *Kiḻkuḍikaḷilār* would, perhaps, imply that the occupancy-rights in the *Dēvadāna* lands were held by the *Mūlaparuḍai Sabhaiyār* or the temple executives - an inference which gains strength from the evidence of the document of 1000 A.D. set out below.

Already there were lands which were not held by the occupancy tenants ; they were assessed but unoccupied. In such cases the temple executives were to supervise cultivation of the lands by the cultivating tenants or the tenants at will. Such lands were in the nature of directly cultivated lands of the temple under the supervision of temple executives themselves. The cultivators suffered the additional disadvantage of being tenants at will. If they were outsiders inducted into these lands they were also discriminated against by a levy (*Puṟakuḍi Vari*), if the evidence from other areas could be grafted to this tract.

Conditions of tenancy under such terms, could have been onerous and the tenants were not easily reconciled to the upward revision of the land-dues obligation even if they were made payable on

temple lands, and to the temple authorities. This inference is strongly suggested by the stern penalty imposed treating the default as treason and wilful disobedience of royal command (*Tiruvāṇai Maṟuttār Paḍum Paṭṭum*) and it was even held to be a heresy.

It is pertinent to record a similar episode in Chēranmādēvi in the time of the next emperor, Rājēndra-I. In the 17th year and 7th day 1037 A.D., Jaṭā-varman Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya, his son and viceroy converted 2 *vēlis* of land in Kallūr village at Mēlvēmbu-nāḍu (Mēla-kkallūr in Tirunelveli taluk) and ordered that the land dues shall be paid to Śrī Kailāsamuḍaiyār temple at Chēranmādēvi. Two years later (1039 A.D.), the occupancy-holders under the state who became temple-tenants after this grant, relinquished the lands.[3]

The reaction to this upward revision of land-dues rates by Mūvēndavēḷār could have been no different. Next year, the 15th year of Rājarāja-I's reign (1000 A.D.) on 30th day of Kaṉṉi (September-October), on a Tuesday Pūraṭṭādi asterisk, the *Mahāsabhaiyār* of Tiruchivīndram, the *Brahmadēya* village in Nāñjil-nāḍu in Rājarājavaḷa-nāḍu, caused the bugles to be blown, and tomtommed and assembled in full in the dining hall. In their presence, and thereafter, the *Mūlaparuḍai Sabhaiyār* who were administering the temple affairs of the Śiva temple in the township delivered into the hands of the *Mahā-sabhaiyār*, i.e. handed over charge to the *Mahāsabhaiyār* stating as follows:

"We could not pay the land-dues to the deity on the *Dēvadāna* lands; nor could we administer the temple affairs. Nor would the occupants under the *Paruḍai* or those inducted by the *Paruḍai*, i.e., the non-occupants (*Paruḍai Kuḍiyila-kaluyiṭṭu, Paruḍai Kuḍiyilārum*) pay the land-dues to the deity. And hence they handed over charge of the administration of the temple affairs and endowments to the *Mahāsabhā*."

"Having thus ourselves relinquished these holdings and functions, if any of us individually claim any rights (hereafter) we shall be liable each to a fine of 10 *kaḷañju* of gold as penalty. If any of the erstwhile (occupancy) tenants claim any rights they shall (collectively) pay 50 *kaḷañju* of gold as fine. Even after paying such fine they shall not prefer any claim towards or on the temple affairs or property and an oath (*Otti*) by the tenants was sworn to by them, and the temple affairs were left with *Mahāsabha*."

In the circumstances, the *Mahāsa-bhaiyār* proceeded to transact the sacred business as below. The two committee members (*Vāriym*) and the (one) accoun-tant (*Karaṇattān*) together shall attend to the temple affairs. The emoluments for the three persons were fixed per indivi-dual per day 5 *nāḷi......* *padakku* and *āḷākku* paddy.

Further details of the annual admi-nistrative by the committee members and the accountant are, unfortunately, not transcribed as the end is built in.[4]

Even the language of this relinquishment of their responsibilities by the *Mūlaparuḍai Sabhaiyār* and the tenants and the procedure of declaration on oath (*Oṭṭiviṭṭamayil*) bear a close resemblance to the relinquishment deed cited of the Kallūr tenants some 37 years later.[5]

This evidence has to be set in perspective. In Rājarāja-I's time there was a conscious administrative check made through officers administering temple affairs and temple lands, or through the royal officers and the townships were also involved in it.

Several instances could be cited, As early as in the 2nd year (987 A.D.) the chief, Arayan Āchārakaṇḍa Brahmādirāyan directed the *Mūlaparuḍaiyār* of Mahēndramaṅgalam (Śrīnivāsanallūr in Musiri taluk, Tiruchirapalli district) that they should record compendiously (*Tiraḷa*) the land-grants on *Dēvadāna* tax-free tenure held by the temple, and allocate income from endowments for specific services and items of expenditure. The *Mūlaparuḍaiyār* complied with this direction, and set up a committee (*Vāriyam*) and the committee and the accountant so set up prescribed a scale of outlay and service-endowments.[6] In the fourth year there was a similar enquiry into the affairs of Agnīśvara temple at Tirumālpuram by Madurāntakan Gaṇḍarādityan.[7]

In the 5th and 6th year of his reign (990, 991 A.D.), Rājarāja himself directed the temple superintendent to fix a detailed schedule of services and assign a specific number of persons who were to have each his obligation. He also caused an obligation to be cast on the non-service holders residing in the house-sites belonging to the temple to come daily to the temple and hold the lamps in the temple.[8] He also personally enquired in his 7th year (992 A.D.) into the endowments of the temple at Tiruchchāturai and directed the temple superintendent to set apart endowed lands for food offerings to the deity within the township itself so that the land-dues therefrom could be easily realisable.[9] In the same year, when Madurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan personally came and worshipped the Āḻvār in Tiruvallam (Tikkali-Tiruvallam) after a bath-service with one thousand pots he noticed that the food-offerings made to the deity were deficient in ghee, and other side-dishes and the lamp was also burning but dimly (*Ālasyamāy*). He immediately questioned the Śiva-Brāhmaṇs of the temple, and the Sabhayār of Tiruvallam to state the full endowments made by the royal orders and epistles.[10]

In Vēdāraṇyam in the 16th year 36th day (1000 A.D.), Rājarājēśvaramarāyar sat on the common hall called Tirumaṟaikkāḍu Bhaṭṭar, and gathering the temple executives and others concerned, enquired into the cash dues they were paying (*Akkam*). He ascertained 24 *Akkam* were being paid, and after checking on the service-holders, and with their consent (*Tangaḷ Eśaivināl*) he increased the levy by 10 *kāśu*, a six-fold increase. The additional proceeds were utilised for the sacred bath with 108 pots of water to the deity on the native asterisk of Rājarāja.[11]

In the 17th year, the land settlement officer, Tiruvaḍigaḷ Śāttan enquired into the provisions made for the temple of Tirunombaḷūr-Paramēśvara at Dēvanapalli in Taṭṭaigaḷa-nāḍu a sub-division of Kēraḷāntavaḷanāḍu and from the fines realised from the defaulting temple servants a gold diadem was made for the deity.[12]

A similar scrutiny by a royal official of the endowed lands, of Tirunāmanallūr deity revealed that the lands had not been surveyed, and demands in paddy and gold were not fixed. The omission was rectified in the 18th year of Rājarāja.[13]

In Mēlśevūr (Gingee taluk) in the 18th year (1003 A.D.) Aruḷmoḷi Mūvēndavēḷān camped at Perumāndai, the headquarters of the *Nāḍu* of the name and was enquiring villagers (about the management of land and land-dues). Two temple-executives from Kilvaḷi Tantarripirān temple complained that the endowment-services and obligations had not been settled for that temple, and requested that taking into account the occupancy of holdings in *Dēvadāna* ayacuts he (the Royal officer) should prescribe a scale of service obligations. The royal officer did so, and his proceedings were recorded in the temple.[14] The scale of services so fixed was augmented by the superintendent of the temple affairs, Sundara Chōḷa Mūvēndavēḷān five years later (1008 A.D.)[15]

In a review of the 26th year and 206th day it is stated that the king's commissioner and trustee of Tiruvāmattūr temple called together the assembly and the residents of the temple and enquired into the temple affairs and finding some surplus of paddy on measuring it by *Vīdiviṭankaṉ marakkāl* instead of *Rājakēsarikkaḷ* he ordered the surplus to be utilised for the daily supply of *Akkāra Aḍiśal* (cooked rice mixed with sweet gur) to the god. This was made by Tamulan Korunangai of Surudhamānallur, a village in Vaḍakarai mēṟkāḍu-nāḍu, a portion of Vēśālippāḍi-Chaturvēdimangalam.[16]

In Kāḷahasti (Chitoor district), in the 27th year (1011-12 A.D.) a royal official of the army (*Sīṟutanattu Paṇimahan*) Mūrkkan Pāṇḍi (the elder/headman) of Uruppanūr was supervising the temple affairs.[17] In the same year (1012 A.D.) the head of the superintendents of the *Nāḍus* including Āṟṟur-nāḍu (in which Tirukāḷatti, was situated), Vaippūr-uḍayān Adiyan Bhuyangar summoned the temple-priests, and listed out specifically the cases of the services / endowments which they were derelict in executing.[18]

The vigilant supervision of Rājarāja's administration could not leave unnoticed the alienations of lands in *Brahmadēya* villages. In the 17th year (1002 A.D.), the royal orders issued were peremptory that such lands (other than those of the service-tenure holders in Brahmadēya villages) should be sold and the cash remitted.[19]

Some seven years later Rājarāja himself directed that the lands in the villages of eleemosynary tenures in the kingdom (Chōnāḍu, Toṇḍai-nāḍu and Pāṇḍi-nāḍu) held by the occupants who defaulted in the payment of land dues (within a

stipulated period) shall be bought out by the residents of the townships concerned (as village-common lands) to the exclusion of the defaulters.[29]

The instances cited are from varied parts of the empire and cover the long period of the reign. The repetitive intensity of such check, almost from the beginning of the reign to its later years is striking. The king's personal grip over, and check of revenue administration is obvious, and extended to every detail of it. His aniety to ensure particularly that lands granted to temples for endowments and on favourable terms were actually utilised for the purpose of the grants speaks out. There were two specific, effective, and organised administrative measures of check and supervision. The lands were surveyed and settled. In the case of temple lands for services royal officers enquired into the defaults and took steps for rectification. They also checked the rates of land-dues paid, and did not hesitate to raise it where there was scope for increase. They tightened the control over the temple establishments, and insisted on the *Mūlaparuḍaiyār* fully recording the endowments and the outlay therefor. Scales of services and emoluments were also prescribed, evolved and adopted. If the king's check over temple affairs in the Chōḷa heartland was direct and personal even from the early years of the reign, it permeated through his chiefs and officers, commissioners, superintendents and the townships to the outlying reaches of the empire which was yet no less effective. The earlier Śuchīndram experience of unauthorised alienations that had to be enquired into even in Vīra Pāṇḍya' reign would only warrant that this intensification of check was, by no means, superfluous. The *Paruḍaiyar* and the temple tenants, generally, complied with these salutary measures. But there were cases as noticed above, in the Pāṇḍya country, in which the tenants expressed their unwillingness, and they threw up their holdings in such cases.

1000 A.D. was therefore a year of crisis in Śuchīndram. The tenants under the *Paruḍaiyār* holding temple lands were not reconciled to the orders of 999 A.D. increasing the land dues rate as high as 11 per cent single crop, and 22 per cent on double crop excluding transportation and loading and unloading charges. They lost no time in relinquishing their holdings. The *Mūlaparuḍaiyār* too were either helpless or were abettors of this collective action pleading that as the land dues could not be realised they could not, by the same token, attend to the temple affairs. There was an inherent and obvious link between the relinquishment of the holdings by the tenants on the ground they could not bear the land-dues to the deity on the *Dēvadāna* lands (at the scales enhanced the previous year, particularly) and the *Mūlaparuḍaiyār* giving up the temple administration. In the event, the *Mūlaparuḍaiyār* had joined hands with the tenants and that at the commencement of the main crop cultivation operation (*Kaṇṇi*). The interests of the deity's affairs and his properties did not deter them from taking this extreme step. Medieval agrarian dedication to the deity's

affairs, was pronounced but then its price could not be inelastic.

The *Mahāsabhaiyār* who were the accredited township organisation of the land-based literati were undaunted. They took over the administration of both the temple and the lands. They entrusted it to a committee of two, together with an accountant to assist. Presumably the Committee had entered into direct cultivation of the lands or used their persuasion and authority with the delinquant tenants to cultivate the lands on acceptable terms. We could, in the absence of this part of the text, only speculate on this aspect.[21] Nor are there any data on the constituents of the two Sabhayars available.

This was not a case of civil disobedience but of collective relinquishment. the penalties *Mūlaparuḍaiyār* for any claims preferred individually was specified. K.A.N. Sastri rightly infers that their joint or collective character became extinct.[22] But the erstwhile tenants had to bear a collective penalty, as their relinquishment too was collective. The Kallūr instance is also another example of this kind.

What the Mūlaparuḍaiyār gave up was the lay administration of the temple. The rituals and worship and the services in the temple did not appear to have been hindered by it.

There can be no greater tribute to an administrator, a builder, a warrior and a patron of arts than his recognition that eternal vigilance was not only the price of liberty, but also the price of effective administration.

Notes :

1 *TAS*. Vol. IV, Pt. 2, pp. 128–129; *Kanyakumari Inscriptions.*, Vol. II/1968, No. 226.

2 Transport charges would vary with the distance and quantity of paddy. In Tiruvakkarai (in South Arcot district) in the 16th year of Rājarāja-I 1000–01 A.D. per one *podi* (load) of 2 *kalam* 1 *tūṇi padakku* from Manali to Tiruvakkarai, it was *padakku* paddy. It worked out at 6-2/3% of the paddy transferred. (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 222, p. 81).

3 On this, please see pp. VI–VII of the Annexure in the author's "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar', (1980) (Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology publication). This annexure also brings out the correct import of the term "*Kaḍan Paṟṟada Nilam.*" Even in the "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar" endowment ten years after the grant by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya's time were assessed but unoccupied lands in the grant-village of Māṇābharana-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The temple resources had to be augmented by additional land-grants thereon simultaneously inducting occupants willing to pay a fixed obligation.

4 *TAS*, Vol. II, pp. 2–9. The importance of this inscription as pointed by the author has been missed by the learned editor of the Series and even by other scholars.

5 *S.I.I*, Vol. XIV, No. 164. – Prof. Sastri has brought out the formal aspect of this documentation and has referred to the Kallur relinquishment. (*The Colas*, II, pt. 1, pp. 252–53). On similar attempts of tenants of secure advantageous tenure, please see also the author's paper on "*Allūr and Īśaanamaṅgalam Revisited*" in Dr. Chhabra Felicitation Volume. Also *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 668 and 669.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 2; No 3.

7 *A.R.S.I.E.*, No. 283 of 1906 – Tirumālpuram (North Arcot district).

8 *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 610 – Tiruchchāturai (Tanjore district) No. 625 – Tiruvēdikkāḍu (Tanjore district).

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 612, p. 244.

10 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 49, p. 102.

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 492 – 1 *akkam*= 1/12 of a *kāśu* in Rājarāja's time – please see ***the Colas***, II, pt. 1, p. 450.

12 *ARSIE*. 199 of 1917 – Somur (Karur taluk) Tiruchchairaplli district.

13 Tirunāmanallūr (South Arcot district) – *SII.*, Vol. VII No. 1000, p. 477.

14 *SII.*, Vol. XVII, No. 243–4, pp. 91–94.

15 *Ibid.*, No. 234, p. 87.

16 *A.R.S.I.E.* 21 of 1922 – Tiruvāmāttur (South Arcot district).

17 *SII*, Vol. XVII, No. 313.

18 *Ibid.*, No. 328

19 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1409,

20 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 9 – This aspect has been correctly brought out by George W. Spencer (North Illinois University) – Please see his article "*Royal Initiative under Rājarāja-I – The Auditing of Temple Accounts*" – *I.E S.H.R.*, Vol. VII – No. 4 (Dec. 1970). Also this repetition and intensity has been correctly thrown up by IBM card indexing on which Mr. Spencer has based his study and this is one of the areas where the computer technique can give a good lead, even because the data lend themselves for such concentrated and clear analysis and the analysis aims at an identifiable purpose.

21 The tenure of such committees generally appears to be only one year (confer: *Avvavvāṇḍu Nāyagam Seivārrum Śrīkaryam Seivār Vāriyappāṟu Mākkalam........*). *SII*, Vol. V, No. 981 – Tiruvenkadu: Also "*Aitattar*" in the fragmentary line 21 in the inscription under study........ *TAS*, Vol. II, p. 7. But the one year tenure and the annual change would not have caused any disruption. The township was compact in its geographical extent and social structure. Their actions were collectively undertaken and by and large, by common consent and there were enough opportunities for those other than the committee mrmbers to keep themselves fully informed of the township affairs.

22 "*The Colas*," – II, pt. 1, p. 271, *F.N.* 5.

10 SRINAGAR BRAHMA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SAKANDARA-SHAH

B. K. Kaul Deambi

The inscription is incised on the base of an image of Brahmā worshipped in Gaṇēsh Mandir in the heart of the city of Śrīnagar. The image originally hailing from the village Khrew 14 miles to the north-east of Śrīnagar has been the object of worship for decades but placed in a niche it had been framed in such a way that nothing but the figure of Brahmā was visible. Recently a colleague of mine who is working on the ancient art of Kashmir removed the frame to take a photograph of the image and to his surprise he found an inscription incised on the base of the image. He at once informed me and I copied the inscription. The inscription is in Sanskrit and in Śāradā characters and consists of two lines. A couple of letters at the beginning of the first line and a few letters at the end of the second line are defaced and beyond recognition. The last few letters of the second line seem to have contained the name of the additional donor of the image and first couple of letters of the first line the benedictory word *Svasti* or *Siddham*.

The inscription reads . . . . . [Sam] 85 *Śrī Sakandara-Shāh rājyē Saṁghaṁ-pati Rāhulya - Kastavakēna tathā* . . . . . and connotes the idea that the image was consecrated by Kastavaka, son of Rāhula and *Samghampati* and by some other person whose name is unfortunately lost, in the year 85 in the reign of the illustrious Sakandara Śāha. Sakandara Śāha is undoubtedly the Sultan Sikandara who ruled over Kashmir from 1389 to 1413 A.D. and the year 85 if referred to Laukika era, the era par excellence of Kashmir, corresponds to 1409 A.D. which will fall within the reign of the king. Sultan Sikandara is also mentioned in the Khunamuh (Kashmir) inscription of Zain-ul-abidin as the father of the ruling prince Zain-ul-abidin.[1] An account of his reign has been given in detail by Jōṇarāja in his Rājataraṅgiṇī[2] and by the Muslim historians of Kashmir in their Persian Chronicles.[3]

The brief record is important and interesting in more than one respect. In Jōṇarāja's Rājatraṅgiṇī and the Persian chronicles, Sultan Sikandara figures mainly as great iconoclast (but-shikan) who in his zeal for the propagation of Islam had the important shrines of Hindus razed to the ground and mosques built in their place. His reign according to these sources was marked by religious persecution of the Hindus and the consecration of images and temples was prohibited by the Sultan. However our contemporary record of the period tends to prove otherwise. It would show that the images continued to be installed in the reign of the Sultan and his name was mentioned in the records recording the installation of the images. It seems that the accounts of the

iconoclastic activities of Sultan Sikandar as given by the Persian chroniclers over-stated and exagerated. It is also possible that Hindus undetered by the policy of religious persecution adopted by some Sultans of Kashmir continued to worship and consecrate images at their homes and other secret places. The occurrence of the name of an alleged iconoclast in our record may be explained by the fact that it has been customary to record the name of the ruling prince whoever he might have been in the dedicatory inscriptions of Kashmir.

The second important point in the record is the mention of the donor with the title *Saṁghaṁ-pati* which may be the same as *Saṅgha-pati* or chief of the Buddhist or Jaina Church. According to D. C. Sircar *saṅgha-pati* denotes a person who led a group of Buddhist or Jaina pilgrims to some sacred shrine and bore the entire expenditure incurred on the pilgrimage. So the names of the donor and his father indicate that they were Buddhists. That Buddhists in the later period also sometimes consecrated the images of Brahmā is not surprising. Brahmā is included in the Buddhist pantheon and is provided with one head (in lieu of usual four heads representing the four Vēdas) in the Tantrik Buddhist text *Nishpannayōgāvali* The same text relates that Buddha after attaining enlightenment wanted to preach Dharma to people but his mind was filled with misgivings. "Should we proclaim the law to those who are attached to the material world." For a moment he was hesitant but the gods united to implore Buddha and Brahmā in person came to beg him to preach his law. Buddha finally yielded to the wishes of Brahmā and gave his first sermon in the Ṛishi pattan at Sārnāth. This is how Brahmā was venerated by the Buddhists also.

For the history of religion in Kashmir the inscription is important as it shows that Buddhism did have some adherents in the valley even as late as the 14th century and the worship of Brahmā was popular among them.

Notes :

1 Deambi B K., Khonamuh Inscription of the reign of Janolabadēnashāh, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XVII, pp. 220 ff.

2 Vibāya rājya-kāryāṇi prajā-bhāgya-viparyayāt ।

Dēvānāṁ pratimā-bhaṅgē rājā arajyad aharniśam ॥

Pratyāhṛitē tatas= tējō-viśēshē tṛidaśair =abhūt ।

pratimānāṁ śilābhāvō mantrāṇāṁ varṇa-mātratā ॥

Jōṇarāja, *Dvitīya Rāja Taraṅgiṇī*, 255 ff.

3 *Bahāristan-i-Shāhi*, Ms. f. 23 a, *Tarikhi Sayid Ali*, Ms. f. 136 a, *Tarikh-i-Haider Malik, Ms. f.* 44 *Fatuhat-i-Kuberawia*, Ms. f. 157 b.

4 Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 297. For the occurrence of the title in other records *cf.* Lüders M., Jaina Inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha on Mount Abu, Inscription No. II, XXVI, XXVII, XXX where the title is borne by Vastupāla, the elder brother of Tejapāla, the donor of the temple of Nēminātha, *Epigraphia India*, Vol. III, pp. 200 ff. *Kirtikaumudi* of Sōmēś-varadēva, canto IX where Vastupāla is stated to have earned this title by looking after the members of his community (*saṅgha*) and by organising and leading a great pilgrimage to the *tīrthas* of Śatruñjaya, Raivataka and Prabhāsa. *Satruñjaya-māhātmya*, XIV. where the title is stated to have been conferred by Pārāva on his relative Hastisēna who afterwards undertook pilgrimages to various holy places. As among the Jainas the title appears to have been fairly popular among the Buddhists also.

11 HYDERABAD PLATES OF VAKATAKA DEVASENA, YEAR 5

P. V. Parabrahma Sastry

The Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, has recently acquired a set of some metal plates, exactly imitating inscriptional copper plates with royal charters of ancient India. Its story is somewhat strange. It is said by Dr. T.V.G. Sastry, the Curator of the Institute that an artist of Bidri ware brought this set of plates for sale. The artist also reported that some villager from Bechchali taluk, Bidar district, brought to him the original set of copper plates which he did not like to part with. Realising the monetary value of the plates as historical document, the artist used his skill and prepared a true facsimile of it on iron plates which he brought for sale. Thus the Birla Institute is now having the iron plates only. The facsimile does not betray even the slightest trace of being a duplicate, leaving the metal. With the kind permission of Dr. T.V.G. Sastry, the Curator of the said Institute, I edit the inscription in the following pages.

The charter is engraved on three plates, the first side of the first plate being left without any writing and the second side of the third plate with only two incomplete lines. They are held to a ring, the ends of which are soldered to a round seal. On the edge of the seal there is the writing 'Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-Śrī-Dēvasēna'. The characters of the whole record are in southern type of late Brāhmī of the fifth century A D., with square box heads as is the usual style of writing of the Vākāṭaka copper plate charters. There are five lines on each side, the second side of the third plate having only two incomplete lines as said before. The whole record is in Sanskrit prose. The imprecatory verses usually found in other charters are not included here. Prākṛit forms of *passe* for *pārśvē*, *puvva* for *pūrva*, and *ssa* for *sya* (genetive case ending) in naming the boundaries (ll. 9–11) and the name of the donee *Raddochcha chātuvejja* are noticeable.

Palaeographically, the record exhibits certain inconsistancies with regard to the letters *ta*, *na*, *ṇa*, *cha* and *va*. *Ta* is written without loop in many cases, but it is found with loop in its secondary form. No distinction is made between *cha* and *va*. Secondary form of the letter *sa* in one or two cases is like *va* e.g. *Vātse* (1.1). The numerical symbols 5, 8 and 1 are used. The symbol for 5 is peculiar. A similar symbol for 5 is noticed in the Malhār plates of Ādityarāja.[1] Upadhmānīya is used in lines 2 and 17. The mutual relationship of the donor in the descending order is given in compounds like *Pravarasēna-suta-putra-prapautrasya* covering six generations, the last relationship being *Sarvvasēna-putrasya Dēvasēnasya*.

The record begins with the auspicious words *Siddham* and *Namaḥ* and mentions the town Vatsagulma, obviously the place where the charter was issued. Then follow the names of the Vākāṭaka kings: Ādi-dharma-mahārāja Vindhyaśakti, and his son Dharma-mahārāja Pravarasēna who is attributed with the epithets, the performer of the sacrifices *Agnishṭōma*, *Āptōryāma*, *Vājapēya*, *Jyōtishṭōma*, *Bṛihaspatisava*, *Sādyskratu*, *Chatur-Aśvamēdha*, and a *Samrāṭ*, a *sagōtra* of Vishṇuvṛiddha and *Hāritī-putra*. Then the donor is stated as Dharma-mahārāja Dēvasēna of the Vākāṭakas who is mahārāja-Śrī-Sarvasēna's son, mahārāja Śrī Pravarasēna's grandson, mahārāja-śrī-Vindhyasēna's son's grandson, mahārāja śrī Sarvvasēna's son's great grandson and Dharma-mahārāja-śrī Pravarasēna's son's son's great grandson. He, i.e. Dēvasēna orders that the village named Velpakoṇḍā situated to the west of Pasāpalakalla, to the north of Sirimandāpaka, to the east of Krēri[ñcha] kalla and to the south of Doṇithoma was made a gift to Raddochcha Chāturvaidya i.e. who is learned in the four Vēdas, for the purpose of *charuka*, or sacrificial offering, by Sāmilladēva, having made it exempted from the payment of the dues like *hiraṇya* and grain, Vishṭi-kara, men (for service), bullocks and all other impediments, for his religious merit in this and other worlds. This order is to be implemented by the officers like *Sañcharantaka*, *Kulaputraka* and *ādibhaṭas*[2] who look after the execution of the royal orders and exempt the village from all impediments. He who disobeys the royal order and behaves otherwise would be punished according to the orders of the brāhmaṇas of the *gōtra* (of the donee ?) and he would have to suffer the five great sins.

This charter was written by the son of Vammisvāmi on the first day of the 8th fortnight of the rainy season in the 5th year. Owing to some mistake on the part of the composer or the scribe of the record the *gōtra* of the donor is not given along with his name. Some *gōtra* seems to have been stated in the imprecatory part (line 19) which is not clear. Another point to be noted is that the legend on the seal is a simple mention of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna and not like the usual eulogised version, viz., *Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya* etc, found on the seals of the kings of the main branch.

It is obvious that the record belongs to the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna of the Basim branch. The Hisse-Borala stone inscription[3] dated in the Śaka year 380, (458-9 A.D.), and the India House incomplete set[4] are his other records. The donor's genealogy is given as Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasēna (I), Sarvasēna (I), Vindhyasēna, Pravarasēna (II), Sarvasēna (II), and Dēvasēna, all the seven members being in the direct succession of father and son relationship. The genealogy of the present record contains the clear mention of the name of Dēvasēna's father as Sarvasēna which is also known from the Thalner plates of Harishēṇa.[5] There are two members in this family having the name Sarvasēna. The genealogy begins with Vindhyaśakti who is attributed with the epithet *ādidharma-mahārāja*, the first component *ādi* perhaps being to indicate his place as the founder of the family.

Pravara-Sēna I and Dēvasēna, the donor also possess the title *dharmamahārāja*, the significance of which is not specifically understandable.[6] The present genealogy does not furnish us with any new information political or otherwise about the individual members of the family. The uncertainty with regard to the regnal periods of some members, particularly that of Sarvasēna II still remains a matter of speculation, However, this is a complete record of Dēvasēna ; and perhaps this is the earliest record which begins with the genealogical account from Vindhyaśakti I. It is also to be noted that Vindhyaśakti II of other records is named here as Vindhyasēna, probably to keep similarity with the names of other members.

The royal order is executed by a certain Sāmilladēva who is quite possibly identical with Svāmilladēva, the executive officer (*ājñākara*) of the Hisse-Borala tank inscription of Dēvasēna's period. The *dūtaka* of the Thalner plates of Harishēṇa, son of Dēvasēna is named Svāmiladēva who is likewise identifiable with Svāmilladēva of the Hisse Borala inscription as suggested by Prof. A.M. Shastry.[7] The writer of the record is stated to be the son of Vammi (or Brammi)svāmi but his own name is left incomplete after writing the letter *Sa* (1.21).

The date of the record is given in the last line as the 1st day[8] of the 8th (fortnight) of the rainy (season) in the 5th (regnal) year.

Of the localities mentioned in the record Vatsagulma is the well known original name of Basim, the capital town of the collateral branch of the Vākāṭakas. The gift village Velpakoṇḍā and the places of boundaries on the four sides, *viz.*, Pasāpalakalla, Sirimandāpaka, Krēri[ñcha] kalla and Doṇithoma are not identifiable at present. Local people of the Bidar district may throw some light in this regard. But the endings of the names *koṇḍa* and *kallu* indicate that they are in the Kannaḍa-Telugu area. Another Velpukoṇḍā village is known near Warangal. It means a hill of the god. Now it is called Jaffarghad. Similar name for a village with some deity on a hill nearby might have existed in the Bidar region also.

TEXT[9]

Seal

Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Dēvasēna

First Plate

1 Siddham [|*] Namaḥ [|*] Vatsagulmād=Vākāṭakānām=ādi-dharma-mahārāja-śrī Vindhya-

2 śakteḥ=putrasya agnishṭom-āptoryāma-vājapeya-jyotishṭōma-bṛi-

3 haspatisava-sa(sā)dhyashkra(skra)tu-chatur=aśvamedha-yājinaḥ

4 sapra(mrā)[jo*] Vishṇuvṛiddha-sagotrasya Hārītīputrasya dharma-

5 mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasena[10]-putra-prapautrasya mahārā-

Second Plate, First side

6 ja-śrī-Sarvvasena-putra-prapautrasya mahārāja-śrī-Vindhyasena-pu-

7 tra-pautrasya mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasena-putrasya mahārāja-

8 śrī-Sarvvasena-putrasya Vākāṭakānndha(Vākāṭakānām) dharmma-mahārāja-

9 śrī-Devasenasya vachanā[t*] Pasāpalakallassa apara-passa(sse)

10 Sirimandāpakakassa uttara-passe Kreri[ñcha]kallassa puvva passe

Second Plate, Second side

11 Doṇithomassa dā(da)kkhina passe Velpakoṇḍā nāma grāmaḥ Raddochcha-

12 chātuvejjassa charuka-nimitte Sāmilladevena a-hiranya(ṇya)-

13 dhānyādi pradeyaḥ a-vishṭikara-manushya-balīvarddadi(ddaḥ) sā(so)-

14 ....[11] sarvva-vada parihitaḥ[12] aihik-āmushmika niśre[ya*]sa(sā)rttha[ṁ*] datti-

15 r=adattra(ttā) tad=epa(ta)sya vishaya-parivishaya-vāsibhis=sañcharanta-

Third Plate, First side

16 kulaputrakaiś=ch=āda(di)bhaṭaiś=cha rājājñām=anupālayadbhiss=va (bhiḥ-svai-)

17 ....[13] rakshyaḥ=pariharttavyaś=cha yō vā rāja-śāsanam=apra-

18 mādīkṛitya lobhād=anyathā prata(va)rtheta tasy=aibhi[r*]=brāhmaṇai[ḥ]

19 [Vishachcha][14]-gotrajai[ḥ*] rājñā cha va(ba)ndho nipātyate pañcha-mahā-pa-

20 taka-sa[ṁ*]yuktaś=cha syād=iti likhitam=ida[ṁ*] śāsana[ṁ*] sva-mukhasa-

21 ādishṭena Bhamasvāmi-putrena(ṇa) Sa

22 Sarvvañcha[15] 5 Vāsa 8 divasa [1*][16]

Notes :-

1 V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas,* plate VII, line 50.

2 According to D.C. Sircar *Sañcharantaka* is a spy and *Kulaputra* is a noble.

3 *EI.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1 ff.

4 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 101 ff.

5 *Indological Research Papers,* Vol. I., pp. 78-87.

6 Prof. A.M. Shastry seeks to attach some special significance to this title. In the Basim plates Sarvasēna I and his son Vindhyaśakti II are attributed with the apithet *dharmamahārāja.* Here we find it applied to Pravarasēna I and Dēvasēna the donor. (*JESI.*, Vol. *XI*, p. 16) So it seems that the epithet does not carry any particular significance.

7 *JESI.*, Vol. XI, pp. 18-19.

8 See f.n. 16 below.

9 From photographs.

10 In this and other following cases, *ēkadēsī-samāsa* is used. Otherwise, it should be *Pravarasēnasya.*

11 Read *sopari* [Ed.]

12 Read *sarvva-bādhā-parihṛitaḥ*

13 Read *svaira(re)ṇa* [*Ed.*]

14 Can it be a corruption of *Vishṇuvṛiddha*, the gōtra of the Vākāṭaka family ? In the Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti it is spelt as *Vashṇivriddha* (*CII.*, Vol. V, p. 96)

15 Read *savvachcha* [Ed.]

16 The figure looks like 7 [Ed.]

12 A MUGHAL INSCRIPTION FROM AHMADABAD IN GUJARAT

N. M. Ganam

The inscription which is taken up for study in this article is found fixed above the central *miḥrāb* of a mosque called Galyārā masjid after the name of a lane Galyārānī pole situated in the Kālūpur quarter of Aḥmadābād city. The four line epigraph in Persian prose and verse executed in *Nasta'līq* characters, is a record of *Mughal* emperor *Farrukh* Siyar. Dated in his 6th regnal year, corresponding to A.H. 1129 (1717 A.D.), it records the construction of a mosque by the deputy Rūḥu'llāh during the governorship of Mahārāja Ajīt Singh when Nāhir Khān was the Dārugha of the *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* (i.e. Superintendent of the cloth-market).[1] An interesting feature of the inscription is that the arch-shaped tablet on which it is engraved, also contains on its upper part the text of the later Gujarāt Sultanate period recording the construction of a congregational mosque in A.H. 979 (1571 A.D.)[2] This indicates that a mosque had existed earlier at the site and when it had become old and dilapidated, it was reconstructed in about one century and a half later.

The inscribed slab measures 52 by 36 cm ; while the total area occupied by the present epigraph on the stone is 20 by 34 cm.

The inscription has been read as follows :-

TEXT

1) Bānī-i-īn Ka'ba dar Gujarāt Rūḥu'llāh shud Dar binai Khāna-i-Ḥaq Chūn Khalīlu'llāh shud

2) Dar'ahd-i-mubārak-i-Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar Bādshāh Ghāzi, dar dārūghi-i-Kaṭhra-Pārcha Nāhir Khān, ba-niyābat-i-kamtarīn-i-bandagān-i-ilāh ba-itmām yāft.

3) Sāl-i-tārīkhash shunīdam, Khiḍr-i-ma'nī sanj guft Masjid-i-Dāru's-Salām az Nau zi-Rūḥu'llāh shud

4) 1129, 6 Julūs

TRANSLATION

1) Rūḥu'llāh has become the founder of this Ka'ba in Gujarāt. Like Khalīlu'llāh (Khalīl of God),[3] he arranged for the construction of the abode of God.

2) In the auspicious reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, the victorious king (and) during the governorship of Mahārāja Ajīt Singh when Nāhir Khān was the

dārūgha of the Kaṭhra-Pārcha, it was completed by his deputy, the humblest of the servants of God.

3) (When) I heard the year of its date, *Khīdr*,[4] the eloquent said, "*The mosque has again become the abode of peace through* (*the efforts of*) *Rūhu'llāḥ.*"

4) (year A.H.) 1129, 6 (year of) accession (1717 A.D.).

The date of the consruction of the mosque is afforded by the chronogram contained in the last hemistich of the second verse yielding A.A. 1129 which is also inscribed in figure.

The inscription which refers to the reign of Farrukh Siyar who ruled from 1712 to 1719 is quite important from the historical point of view. It mentions apart from Ajīt Singh, the governor, two personages namely Nāhir Khān and his brother Rūḥu'llāh Khān. Both had enjoyed high status and were closely connected with Ajīt Singh in the administrative affairs of the state as we shall presently see. Mahārāja Ajīt Singh was the son of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh of Jōdhpūr. He was deprived of his hereditary right to rule by Aurangazeb. After the death of Aurangazeb in 1707, Ajīt Singh recovered his ancestral capital Jōdhpūr.[5] When Bahādur Shāh who succeeded Aurangazeb, marched against him, he evacuated Jōdhpūr and made his submission. Ajīt Singh waited on the emperor who received him with respect and granted him the *maṇab* of 3500 personal and 3000 horses, and also honoured him with the title of *Mahārāja*.[6] After some time, Ajīt Singh was also recognised as the ruler of Jōdhpūr.[7]

At the accession of Farrukh Siyar, Ajīt Singh did not attend the court and rose in revolt early in 1714. Farrukh Siyar sent Amīru'l-Umarā Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān with a large contingent against Ajīt Singh. Ajīt Singh surrendered and accepted all the terms offered by the imperial general. The emperor who married his daughter, bestowed upon him the high sounding title of *Rāj Rājeshvar* with a rank of 7000 personal and 7000 horses and appointed him the governor of Gujarāt in the middle of 1715.[8] Ajīt Singh arrived at Ahmadābād in March 1716 with Nāhir Khān who was his friend and who had acted as an intermediary when Amīru'l-Umarā had led an expedition against him.[9] On previous occasion also, Nāhir Khān offered his good offices between Ajīt Singh and the Mughal king Bahādur Shāh, as a result of which a settlement was made by which among other things, Ajīt Singh got back his kingdom of Jōdhpūr in 1710.[10] Nāhir Khān was honoured with the Maṇsab of 1500 unconditional and was also raised to the post of a dārugha of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* with other custom-posts (*Ṣā'r-i-Balda*) of the whole city of Ahmadābād. His brother Rūḥu'llāh who accompanied him to Gujarat had received the rank of 1000 personal and 200 horses and was appointed as *Faujdār* of A'zamābād, Ma'murābād, Bhill and Islamābād.[11]

The tenure of Ajīt Singh's governorship did not last for more than two years. He was removed in June 1717, when complaints of oppression by his Mārwāṛi officials posted in Gujarāt were received by the emperor. Ajīth Singh being annoyed, intended to give battle, but he was dissuaded from doing so by his trusted adviser Nāhir Khān and made him to march to Jōdhpūr. Nāhir Khān also left for the court after appointing his brother Rūḥu'llāh as *Nā'ib* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha.*[12] After sometime in February 1718, Rūḥu'llāh Khān also left Ahmadābād for the imperial court.[13] It was most probably during this period when Nāhir Khān was the *Nā'ib* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* that the mosque as referred to in the text, was constructed by him.

Ajīt Singh who had been alienated when *Farrukh* Siyar dismissed him from Gujarāt, became partisan of Sayyid brothers in dislodging and ultimate murder of *Farrukh* Siyar. As a result, on raising Rafi'u'd-Darajāt as the emperor in February 1719, the Sayyid brothers favoured him with the governorship of Gujarāt. After sometime, he was also appointed *Ṣūbedar* of Ajmer in addion to Gujarāt. Nāhir Khān was appointed as *Dīwān* of the province of Gujarāt and in addition to this, the *dārughaship* and *karoriship* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* (cotton market) and the fiscal division of custom duties of the city (*Maḥāl-i-Sā'ir-i-Balda*) held earlier by him were granted to him and his rank was raised to 3000 personal and 1000 horses.[14] The appointments of both the officials to their respective posts were confirmed when Muḥammed Shāh ascended the throne in September 1719.[15] His brother Rūḥu'llāh Khān was made the *Nā'ib* of *Diwān.*[16]

During this second tern of his governorship in Gujarāt, Ajīt Singh stayed at the court and the province was governed by his deputy Anūp Singh Bhandārī. Nāhir Khān was at this time invested with more powers. Some of the functions usually reserved for the office of deputy governor were passed on by orders of the court, to Nāhir Khān. After his arrival in Ahmadābad, Nāhir Khān had taken some administrative measures in the province. In a report submitted by him to His Majesty, Nāhir Khān stated that he had made efforts to keep the roads safe from bandits, obtained written bonds from *zamindārs* for the regular payment of tribute and had adopted various measures for proper defence of the city and for the welfare of the public.[17]

After the death of Sayyid brothers, Ajīt Singh fell into disfavour and in May 1721, he was removed from the governorship, not only of Gujarāt but also of Ajmer. Nāhir Khān was also recalled to court.[18] Ajīt Singh being enraged, marched from Jōdhpūr with 30,000 troops and occupied Ajmer. He even sent his army to Nārnaul, Alwar and other places and occupied them. The emperor sent a contingent against him and appointed Nāhir Khān as *Dīwan* of Ajmer and Sāmbhar in December 1722. He was granted wide powers so that he might act as a check on Ajīt Singh. His position was further strengthened by the appointment of Rūḥu'llāh as the *Qil'adār* of Gaṛh Patili (i.e. Tārāgaṛh overlooking Ajmer). Ajīt Singh being enraged at this, was determined not to allow Nāhir Khān

to secure control of Ajmer. When Nāhir Khān and his brother Rūḥu'llāh Khāh entered the territory of Ajmer and camped close to the Raṭhoḍ camps in the mistaken belief that the Rajputs were friendly, both were murdered at the order of Ajīt Singh on the morning of 6 January 1723.[19]

This treacherous murder of both the brothers greatly enraged the emperor Muḥammad Shah. He sent a large contingent under the command of Sharafu'd-Daula and also ordered Ḥaider Qulī Khān who was appointed as governor of Ajmer to help the imperial army. When Ajit Singh came to know about the approach of the army, he withdrew from Ajmer and left for Jōdhpūr. He apologized for his wild acts and even sent his son Abhai Singh to the imperial court and agreed to surrender the territories occupied by him by force. He was pardoned and restored to his manṣab. Shortly afterwards Ajīt Singh was assassinated by his younger son Bakht singa in Jōdhpūr on 23rd June 1724.[20]

The epigraph also supplies information about some aspect of trade and commerce during the *Mughal* period. Nāhir *Khān* is designated in the text as the *dārugha* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* i.e. Superintendant of the cloth-market. The term *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* denotes a market place where cloth of all sort of cotton, silk, wool as well as raw cotton, hemp, flax and leather were brought for sale.[21] It also formed a *maḥāl*–a fiscal unit for the purpose of collection of custom duties on commodities brought in the market for sale. There were 32 other *maḥāls* comprising of towns and *parganas* atleast in six *sarkārs* (districts) of Gujarāt which were connected with the *Kaṭhra - Pārcha* of Ahmadābād. Twenty custom checkposts called *Nākas* around Ahmadābād were also attached to *māḥāl-i-Kaṭhra-Pārcha*.[22]

According to the *Mir'āt*, in former times, a small duty under the name of brokerage called *Shukr-i-dallālī* was levied on merchandise brought for sale in the suburbs and the markets. But in the reign of Aurangazeb, the rates of duty on the commodities for sale were fixed at 2½ percent for Muslims, 5 percent for Hindus and 3½ percent for Christians. The *mahāl* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* was also called as *Maḥāl-i-Ṣad-Panj* (i. e. Five percent department) probably because the duty levied was five percent.[23]

The other commodities like foodgraing, articles of food, medicines, jewellery, articles of wood and ivory, horses, camels, cows etc. had their markets in Ahmadābād and the taxes on these items were levied at the above rates under the head *Sā'ir* or *maḥālāt-i-Sā'ir*.[24]

The chief official of the *maḥāl* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* was the *amīn*. His functions among other things appear to have been the inspection and supervision of the commodities of the merchants. When it was found that the *amīn's* works had become heavy and as he was not able to look after the whole of the imports and exports of the merchandise, a *dārugha* was appointed to help him. He was a *maṣabdār*. Besides the contingent under his own *manṣab*, the *dārugha* was entitled to keep ten horsemen and fifty *piyadās* or footers employed in the monthly salary of Rs. 150 each and posted at

various *nākās* around the city to prevent evasion of custom duties. They used to receive their salary from the *maḥāl* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* and it was included in the account of that *māḥal.*[25] At Ahmadābād, the *dārugha* of *maḥāl* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* also held the post of the *dārugha* of *maḥāl-i-Sā'ir* of the city.[26] The other officials connected with the *maḥāl* of *Kaṭhra-Pārcha* in the collection of taxes were the *Karori*, the Mushrif, the *taḥvīldar* and the *Qānungo.*[27]

Notes :

1 *ARIE.*, 1976–77, No. D, 161.

2 *Ibid.*, No. D, 160.

3 The title of Prophet Abraham.

4 Prophet *Khiḍṛ* who discovered and drank of the water of life whereby he became immortal.

5 William Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Irvine), Calcutta, 1922, Vol. I, p. 45 ; V. S. Bhargava, *Marwar and the Mughal emperors*, Delhi, 1966, p. 144.

6 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 48 ; G.D. Sharma, *Rajput Polity*, (New Delhi, 1977), p. 198 ; Bhargava, *op.cit.*, p. 147 ; Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court* Aligarh, 1959, p. 32.

7 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 73 ; Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 150 ; Satish Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.

8 Satish Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–102 ; Bhargava, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–58. Mir'āt has mentioned that Ajit Singh held the rank of 6000/6000 when he was appointed governor of Gujarat. 'Ali Muḥammad *Khān*, *Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi (Mir'āt)*, Baroda, 1927, pt. II, p. 1.

9 *Mir'āt, op. cit.*, p. 3.

10 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ; Mira Mitr, *Maharaja Ajit Singh Evam Unka Yug* (Mira Mitr), Jaipur, 1973, pp. 168–77.

11 *Mir'āt, op. cit.*, p. 3.

12 *Mir'āt, op. cit.*, pp. 11–12 ; Mira Mitr, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–20.

13 *Mir'āt, op. cit.*, p. 14.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 21–23.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

19 Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–12; Satish Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–81; Zahīru'd-Dīn Malik, *The Reign of Muḥammad Shāh* (Zahīru'd-Dīn), Bombay, 1977, pp. 257–58; Mira Mitr, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–27.

20 Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–14; Zahīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Mira Mitr, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

21 Ali Muhammad *Khān*, *Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi*, Supplement, (Baroda, 1930), p. 181; M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint & Port* in the Mughal India (Singh), N. Delhi, 1985, p. 121.

22 *Mir'āt (Suppl)*, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

23 *Mir'āt (Suppl)*, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–22.

24 *Mir'āt (Suppl)*, *op. cit.*, p. 181–83; Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

25 *Mir'āt (Suppl)*, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–80; Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–25.

26 *Mir'āt*, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 182–83; Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–26.

13 PROTOHISTORIC INSCRIPTION FROM THE SEA NEAR BET DVARAKA

S. R. Rao

Introduction :

Marine Archaeological Investigations :

Since 1981 the Marine Archaeology Centre of the National Institute of Oceanography, Goa has been exploring the submerged city of Dvāraka said to have been built by Lord Kṛishṇa. The Marine Archaeology Project supported by the Department of Science and Technology, Government of India has plans to excavate submerged ports and sunken ships in Indian waters with a view to reconstruct the history of maritime trade-building and interaction of cultures besides furnishing data of scientific value. For instance, sea level fluctuations and rate of sedimentation and coastal erosion over long periods can be studied with the chronological scale provided by archaeological sites in the continental shelf.

Dvāraka on the Gujarat coast is one of the historically and culturally important port towns which is said to have been built after reclaiming land from the sea and which according to Mahābhārata and other ancient texts, was submerged by the sea.

Onshore excavations in the forecourt of the Dvārkādhīśa temple had brought to light remains of three temples (1st century B.C. to 9th century A. D.) destroyed by the sea and habitation debris of two protohistoric settlements underlying the earliest temple. On the basis of the Lustrous Red Ware and other associated pottery theearliest settlement could be assigned to the mid-second millennium B.C.

Submerged City in Bet Dvāraka :

Bet Dvāraka known as Shankhodhara is also associated with Kṛishṇa's activities. Our onshore exploration in 1982 revealed remains of a fortification wall and Late Harappan as well as post-Harappan pottery (Lustrous Red Ware) in the cliff section of the island. This discovery was followed up by underwater exploration in the First (1983)[1], Second (1984)[2] and Third (1985) Marine Archaeological Expeditions. Besides the fortification wall in the cliff the southern and northern walls of the city have been traced. The landmarks suggest that in the mid-second millennium B C. the town was 4 km long in the island of Bet Dvāraka deserving the appellation *Vāridurga*. Its submergence is attributable to a rise in the sea level in *circa* 1400 B C. The net rise since then is about 5 metres.

Indus Seal (Pl. I) and Inscribed pot (Pl. II):

Underwater explorations in 1974 yielded two highly significant antiquities which go a long way in dating the site. A rectangular seal of Indus type made of conch shell was found in layer 3 of trench UW 6 dug 300 m seaward of sites BDK I and II. This seal is engraved with a three headed animal representing the bull, unicorn

and goat but it is drawn in Bahrainian style. There is no inscription on it. Another find is an inscribed sherd of a votive jar in sturdy red ware recovered from the intertidal zone. Though heavily rolled the letters can still be read. For purposes of dating the inscription, palaeography and the age of the vessel itself are to be taken into account. An identical sherd is found in the Late Harappan deposit of the cliff section in BDK II and another from the intertidal zone ; the latter is affected by sea organisms. The inscribed sherd was covered by sediment and therefore not affected by sea organisms, but salt affect is seen. Another sherd of the same fabric and type but uninscribed is found in the stratified deposit of the Late Harappan period at Nageshwar excavated by K.T.M. Hegde. The cross evidence provided by the sherd from cliff section of Bet Dvāraka and the excavated site of Nageshwar confirms that the inscribed votive jar of sturdy red ware from intertidal zone of Bet Dvāraka belongs to the protohistoric period. Further Lustrous Red Ware and Kassite Ware, the latter dated 1500-1200 B.C. in Bahrain also occur in the same zone in which the inscribed sherd is found.

The Inscription :

There are seven distinctly inscribed characters above the shoulder of this wide-mouthed jar which has a low flange on the shoulder and a perforation also. The letters are one cm in height and are separated from one another, but of seven, six letters are identical with the Late Harappan Characters and one i.e. the fourth from left is a combination of two signs one of which is a Late Harappan sign for *ga*, and the other a non-Harappan sign, but resembles the Brāhmī sign for *cha*. The inscription runs of left to right as in Brāhmī inscriptions. All the signs, except the compound sign, bear close resemblance to the Semitic (Phoenician) letters on the one hand and Late Harappan on the other.[3] At least five out of seven characters are traceable in the Megalithic inscription of Sanur etc. Three signs are analogous to Brāhmī characters. Let us examine and evaluate, on the basis of the phonetic value of a known contemporary script, namely the Semitic Script (Fig. 1, Pl. I).

The first sign is comparable to the sign for *m* in the South Arabian Iron Age inscription and it occurs on the Daimabad pot of The post-Harappan period. The same sign is evolved into Brāhmī sign for *ma*, the intermediate stages being indicated by the Rangpur and Megalithic graffiti of Sanur[4]. The second and third signs in the Bet Dvāraka Inscription are identical with the sign for *h* in Semitic (Canaanite) inscriptions and the Late Harappan and Harappan sign, the phonetic value being the same as in Semitic writing. The repetition of the sign in the Bet Dvāraka inscription shows the continuance of the Harappan tradition. This sign occurs in Daimabad and Megalithic graffiti also. Another feature that deserves attention is the fact that the signs 2 and 3 in the inscription under consideration face left as in the ivoryrod inscriptions of Mohenjo-daro. The same sign is written facing right also in Bet Dvāraka inscription and this is the normal way writing it in Indus Seals. The fourth sign actually consists of two letters resembling those in

Brāhmī for *ga* and *cha*. The first sign here is identical with the sign for *ga* in Semitic and Indus inscriptions. The second does not however occur either in Semitic or in Indus writing, for, neither had palatals in their phonetic system. Since it occurs in Bet Dvāraka and Brāhmī inscriptions, it represents the intermediate stage when new signs, especially for cerebrals and palatals, were introduced. Thus the combined sign is to be read *gaha*(*qachcha*) which is a homophone of *Kachcha*. Interchange of *k* and *g* was common in Indus inscription eg. *Baka* and *Baga*.

The fifth sign is identical with sign for *sh* in Semitic Shafatbal, Asdrubal and Canaanite inscriptions and Indus seals and graffiti. Though it looks more like *gha* than *ya* in Brāhmī script, its phonetic value is *sh* in Semitic and Indus scripts. The sixth sign looking like the Brāhmī alphabet *ja* is exactly like the basic sign for *h* in Semitic and Indus scripts. The last sign is comparable to the Semitic sign for *pā*. With two strokes on top as in the Indus script it reads *pā*. The whole inscription can therefore be read *ma-hā-ha-ga-cha-sha-ha pā* = *mahāgachcha-shah-pā* or *mahākaccha shah pā* conveying the sense "Sea (or Sea God) King (or Ruler) protect".

If the last three signs resembling Brāhmī signs, the reading *yajama* or *ghajama* and not *yajasa* makes no sense, while the phonetic value of the identical signs in Semitic gives the reading *shah-pā* meaning "Ruler protect (or protector)".

From the reading based on Semitic-Indus phonetic value of the seven signs in the inscription it becomes obvious that the language of the inscription is Indo-European and not Semitic as in the case of Indus seal-inscriptions.

The term *mahākachcha* is used in the *Mahābhārata* in the sense of "a high Cedrena", having vast shores. It is also used, according to Lexicographers Amarasimha etc., in the sense of 'Sea ; Sea God, Varuṇa[5] etc. The inscription and its contents are most appropriate when we take into account its provenance, development of the script, language and tradition. Offerings used to be made to Varuṇa Dēvata in Dvāraka, which included Bet Dvāraka (as both were connected by land) where a temple dedicated to him is situated. In the *Ṛigvēda* and *Mahābhārata* there are references to offerings made and prayers offered to the Sea God Varuṇa. From Harappan times onwards down to medieval period votive jars bearing inscriptions making a reference to the deity to which offering is made have been found. On palaeographical grounds and ceramic evidence the votive vessel belonging to the Late or post Harappan period. Taking into account that the Lustrous Red Ware and Chalcolithic Black and Red Were were in use in Bet Dvāraka, the inscription under reference is assignable to the 15th-14th century B.C. Its significance lies in corroborating evidence from Rangpur, Prabhas (Sōmanāth) and Daimabad besides Mohenjo-daro and Lothal about the evolution for the Indus script and its use in simplified form in the Vedic and Epic periods. It also points to the fact that the Brāhmī script was derived from the Late Harappan script with some additional signs for cerebrals and palatals which the Late Harappan script did not have. The new signs that we notice in the earliest Brāhmī script for palatals and

cerebrals might have been taken from Aramaic but the bulk of the consonantal signs in the Late Harappan script were adopted by the Brāhmī script.

In this connection, I would like to refer to the views of Sri. K. V. Soundara Rajan (Additional Director General, Archaeological Survey of India (Retd.) on my reading and dating of the Bet Dvāraka inscription. He writes :

I should congratulate the team at the outset on this very important and perhaps first ever stage of a breakthrough in the understanding of the devolutionary stages of the Harappan script problem . . . . .

The direction of writing of the legend is by itself significant, Six of the letters as you have said are analogous to the Semitic and what you call the Late Harappan script of Lothal. You however think that it is post-Harappan, Why ? you have mentioned in the last paragraph about two peculiarities of the script, the facing of the letter *ha* and its repetition leading to the lengthening of this letter as *hā*. But have you seemingly avoided saying also that both the sepeculiarities are to be seen in the Brāhmī career for the first time only in the earliest stage of the Tamil-Brāhmī cavern records. If this could be accepted, without detriment to the known characteristics of the Harappan script usage in the mature and Late stages, we may have for the first time (i) a maritime introduction potential for the Megalithic culture and (ii) an ethnolinguistic slant for the script language as well. Can the legend be read as *mahākayajasha* (seemingly to mean as belonging to one born of *Māhakaya*). You know in some of the instances of early stages of Brāhmī the possessive *sa* is written as *sha* . . . . . In this connection the examination as to how far late in the Chalcolithic one can place the jar container would be interesting. I have always held that pre-Aśōkan writing should exist and this discovery of yours in indeed a very valuable link".

As regards Soundara Rajan's suggestion that a maritime introduction to Megalithic culture, I have nothing to say. His second suggestion about ethno-linguistic slant for the script language is not clear. Any way I am glad that he is appreciative of this link between Indus and Brāhmī scripts. So far as the date is concerned I am inclined to put it around 14th century B.C. because of the Lustrous Red, Black-and-Red and Kassitte Wares associated with it. The sherd from Nageshwar also falls in that chronological brocket. As regards his suggested reading *mahākayajasha*, the 3rd sign is also *ha* like the second *hā* and hence cannot be read *ka*. The fourth sign cannot be dropped before reading *ya*. It reads all probability *gaca*. The sign for *sh* in Ahiram and for Bet Dvāraka inscriptions are the same, while the sign for *ya* in the Tamil - Cave Brāhmī is slightly different. It is analogous to *sha* in Ahiram and Late Harappan inscription (see Lothal B inscribed sherd) and to some extent similar to the sign for *ha* in Semitic and Late Harappan *p* with 2 strokes on top. If we have to stretch imagination it is more like *ma*. If we assign Brāhmī phonetic value to all the signs by comparing even distantly with Brāhmī characters the reading would be ma-ja-ja-gacha-gha-ja-ma, on the other hand the phonetic value based on the similarity of the characters with the Semitic script gives the reading *ma-hā-ha-g-cha-sha*

-ha-pā. I want to stress three points here. The accented 2nd and 3rd signs and the non-accented 6th sign for *h* are in the typical Indus system of writing. The first sign for *ma* has close resem-lance to the Daimabad and Athiram signs (for ma) and not Brāhmī *ma*. But the Brāhmī characters and Brāhmī direction of writing suggest that this is the forerunner of Brāhmī script proving an important link with the simplified linear script of 24 signs in the Late Harappan writing.

Notes :

1 Rao S. R. (1984), *Process Report of the First Marine Archaeological Expedition in Dvāraka Waters* (cyclostyled)

2 Rao S. R. and B.U. Nayak (1985), *Progress Report of the Second Marine Archaeologtcal Expedition in Dvāraka Waters* (cyclostyled)

3 Rao S. R. (1982), *The Decipherment of the Indus Script* (Asia), Fig. 8.

4 Rao S. R. *op. cit.* Fig. 2.

5 Monier Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*

14 A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BUKKA-I FROM BHAVIKERI

H. R. Raghunath Bhat

Academic interest in the socio-cultural history of Vijayanagara is being repeatedly evinced in the recent years. Discovery of new source materials in this regard is not only welcome but highly rewarding. A new lithic record of the time of Vīra Bukkarāya-I (1356-1377) has been recently found near a small shrine of Keṇḍadamāsti at Bhāvikēri in Ankola taluk of Uttara Kannada district in Karnataka, during my exploration work.

The inscription in twentyfive lines is found engraved on a chloritic schistose slab which was hidden in the earth till recently. The inscribed slab (115 x 53.5x 11 cm) has an arch-shaped head-piece which include the line sketches of the crescent Moon and the Sun on the top, Śivaliṅga with a Śivāchārya who is standing by its right side and performing *dhūpāratti*, Nandi facing the liṅga, cow and calf to its left and a dagger in between the liṅga and cow-calf. The whole composition is framed by a semi-circular line being joined to a horizontal basal line.

The writing of the record is less cursive than usually found in many of the Vijayanagara inscriptions. The scribe started his writing with bold letters ; but after six lines he seems to have not only reduced the size of the letters but has packed the next six lines. However he has reverted to the earlier technique of incising bold letters. Two lines at the end (lines 22-23) are mostly worn out. The script as well as language except the invocatory and imprecatory verses of the inscription are Kannaḍa of the early Vijayanagara period. The main text is in prose style. It also contains a few orthographical errors or peculiarities, of the period.

The lithic record is dated in Śaka era which corresponds to 18th November 1362 A.D. The week-day should be Friday and not Sunday as mentioned in the inscription.

The object of the epigraph is to record the grant of the village Bhāvikēri in Ankole-nāḍu, made after purchase from the overlord Vīra Bukkarāya, to the royal *guru* Kriyāśakti yatīśvara by *Mahāpradhāna* Basavayya - daṇḍanāyaka. Kriyāśakti yatīśvara perpetuating it granted the same not only for the daily worship of Mahābalēśvara of Gōkarṇa-kshētra but also for the boarding of the brāhmaṇas in the choultry or *chatra*. At the beginning and end of this particular portion of the donation is noticed the mention of Triyambaka. The donative record separately documents at the appropriate contexts the official approval (or signature) of both Basavayya - daṇḍanāyaka and Kriyāśakti-yatīśvara. Not only that the boundaries of the donated village Bhāvikēri have also been specified. viz., Seḷeyahaḷḷa(stream)to the east, sea (Arabian) to the west and triangle

stones, to both north and south of Bhāvikēri.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact it is one of the early records of the Vijayanagara dynasty so far found in Uttara Kannada district which has yielded about hundred inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period.[1] This record also confirms the fact the southern part of Uttara Kannada was brought under the early Vijayanagara rule by Bukka-I.[2]

The lithic record mentions the royal priest with reverence as our guru ('namma guru') and 'yatiśvara.' This Kriyāśakti must be same as Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti mentioned in the Soraba and Shikāripur inscriptions[3] in the neighbouring district of Shimoga. Needless to say that Baḷḷigāve region had a long tradition of the Kāḷāmukha Śaivāchāryas. Bhāvikēri record corroborates the fact that the prieshood of Kriyāśakti played an equally important part in the socio-religious life of the early Vijayanagara empire. That this Kriyāśakti-yatiśvara was the worshipper of Svayambhu Triyambaka, one of the eleven forms of Rudra, is evident by the reference to Triyambaka[4] in two contexts of the record. This was probably the tutelary divinity of the priesthood of Kriyāśakti.

The present epigraph introduces probably for the first time the *Mahāpradhāna* Basavayya daṇḍanāyaka of Ankole-nāḍu which was of strategic importance due to the fact that it included such ports as Bēlekēri. He seems to be one of the early governors of Uttara Kannada under Bukka-I. His governance was at least sixteen years earlier than that of Nāgarasa under Harihara-II (1378).[5]

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Gōkarṇa-kshētra, Ankole-nāḍu and Bāvikēri-grāma are easily identifiable with the modern places of the same names. Gōkarṇa in Kumta taluk has been one of the holy places of pilgrimage. Bukka-I performed a pilgrimage to it. His queen Honnādēvi gave an endowment to the *chatra* at Gōkarṇa in 1374 (probably the same *chatra* mentioned in the Bhāvikēri inscription ?). Many inscriptions from Ankōla region record thegrants to Gōkarṇa kshētra.[6]

Bhāvikēri (3 km from Ankōla) is one of the biggest villages in Ankola taluk. The place name is probably derived from *bhavi* (well). A large number of wells are to be seen even today. This revenue village has three Mahāsati stones, three/four Hero-stones (two of them contain inscriptions) and the lithic record under study.

Ankōla is mentioned in the present record as Ankole-nāḍu. As a place of antiquity, it was a famous trade-centre under the Chālukyas, Kadambas and Vijayanagara rulers. The place-name is derived from the forest shrub *ankole* (Alangium lamareku) grown generally on the coastal hill side. It is worshipped by the Hālakkis as their totem. The earliest reference to it (in inscriptions) is found in a Hero-stone recently found at Bhāvikēri.[7]

Seḷeyahaḷḷa to the east of Bhāvikēri is to be seen even today. It is not far away from the findspot of the present record.

Thus the new inscription of the time of Bukka-I from Bhāvikēri is yet another lithic record of socio-religious significance which throws light on the *mahāpradhāna* Basavayya - daṇḍanāyaka, Kriyāśaktiyatīśvara and the *grāmadāna* of Bhāvikēri for the worship of Mahābalēśvara of Gōkarṇa as well as for the boarding of the brāhmaṇas in the choultry at Gōkarṇa.

TEXT[8]

1. Ōm śrī Gaṇādhipatayē namaḥ ı Namas=tuṅga-śiraś-chum-
2. bi chandra-chāmara chārave ‖ trailōkya-nagarāraṁ-
3. bhaṁ mūla-stambhāya śaṁbave ‖ Svasti śrī vijayābhyu-
4. daya Śaka varusha 1284 neya Plava saṁvatsarada Kā-
5. rtika śu 1 ā śrī manu mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram śrī Vīra Bu-
6. kkarāyana vijaya rājyābhyudayakāla śrī manu mahāpra-
7. dānaṁ Basaveya daṁṇāyakaru ā Bukkarāyana kayiyyalu
8. prītyartha dhārāpūrvakavāgi koṇḍu Amkole - nāḍavoḷgaṇa Bāviya
9. kēriya śāsanada kramaventendaḍe ā vūra chatussīmēya viva-
10. ra mūḍa sēleyahaḷḷa ı tenka baḍagaḍiya naṭṭakallu ı paḍuva
11. samudra mattu trikōṇa naṭṭakallu ‖ yintī chatusīmēsamanvita va-
12. ha grāmavanu ı namma śrī guru Kriyāśakti - yatīśvara śrī pāda[padma]prī-
13. tyartha dhārāpūrvakavāgi koṭṭe u ı yintappudakke ā Basaveya
14. daṇāya[ka]ra voppa ı Śrī Triyaṁbaka ı śrī Kriyāśakti - yatīśvararu
15. ī grāmavanu pratishṭā[pi]si śrī Gōkarṇa - kshētradalu Mahābale - dē -
16. vara pūjārtha vāgiū ı alliya chatrada brāma[ṇa]ra bhōjanakke-
17. ū ı dārapūrvaka vāgi koṭṭe u ı yintappadakke Kriyāśa-
18. kti - yatīśvarara voppa ı śrī Triyaṁbaka ı Svadattāṁ paradattāṁ vā yō
19. harēta vasundarāṁ ı shashṭirvarusha sahasrāṇi vishṭāyāṁ
20. jāyatē krimiḥ ı dānaṃ vā pālanam yō vēti dānāt śrēyōna
21. pāḷanam ı dānāt-svarggaṁ avāpnōti pālanād=achyutapa-

22. daṁ । sāmānyōyam dharmasētu nṛipāṇaṁ kālē kālē

23. pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ ॥ Sarvānetān bhāvinaḥ parthivēndrān

24. bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ maṅga-

25. ḷa mahā śri śrī śrī ॥

Notes :

(I am thankful to Prof. S. H. Ritti for his kind help in the study of this inscription. My thanks are due to Sri S.B. Nayak, Timmanna Naik, K. K. Naik and other villagers for their cooperation in the study of this record).

1 See Gurav, R. N. *Kāravāra Jilleya Śāsanagaḷu*, Dharwad 1975, p. 7.

2 Suryanath U. Kamath, (ed) *Uttara Kannada District*, Bangalore, 1984, p. 1124.

3 *EC.*, Vol. VIII, Sb, 375 (1357) ; VII, Sk, 281 (1368).

4 In fact one of the donated villages was named after Triyambaka as Tryambakapura. See ARMD., 1941 pp. 157–70. The term 'Triyambaka' may also indicate the royal signature of Bukka–I.

5 Suryanath U. Kamath, (ed) *op. cit.* p. 127,

6 *Ibid.*, p. 127, 911.

7 This hero stone inscription is ascribed to the period of Jayakēśi–I of the Goa Kadambas (11th century).

8 From ink impression.s

15 INFERENCE OF THE TERM A-GUPTAYIKANAM

S. P. Tewari

It was sometime during 1926–1930 that a new era called Āguptāyika was added to the list of already existing eras used in early Indian records. N.L. Rao, relying on his interpretation of the phrase referring to this era, tried to associate this with the accession of Chandragupta Maurya but in a very indecisive manner. Later on, D. C. Sircar also reviewed the facts regarding this era and expressed the possibility of its having begun some time around 200 B.C. The opinions of both Rao and Sircar were subsequently examined by K.V. Ramesh who, sided with the views of Rao in the major part, though disagreeing with him slightly as to the year the era started. Somehow, as we shall see, none of the scholars explained the exact sense of the phrase *āguptāyikānām rājñām*, and had to admit their inability to locate the whereabouts of the kings referred to by this appellation.

However, as gleaned from the remarks of both Rao and Ramesh, they have somehow taken these kings as belonging to the lineage of Varddhamāna the 24th Tīrthankara of the Jainas. This hypothesis is based on the erroneous translation of the complete passage of the text by Rao, further supplemented by the tradition which associates Chandragupta Maurya with the lineage of the Jainas. But, while reviewing the said passage of the text once again, I notice that it hardly establishes any association of the Āguptāyika kings with the Jaina lineage. On the contraray, the term Āguptāyika seems to be a most figuratively coined phrase referring to the Gupta kings and the reckoning known after them.

This only known epigraphical reference to the so-called *Āguptāyika* era is met in the Gokak plates of Dejja Mahārāja of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.[1] The relevant lines of the grant read as under:

"*Ih=āsyām=avasarpiṇyān=Tīrthakarāṇāṁ Chaturviṁśati-tamasya sanmatēḥ śrī Varddhamānasya Varddhamānāyāṁ tīrtha-santatāv=Āguptāyikānām rājñām=ashṭāsu varsha-śatēshu paṁcha-chatvāriṁśad-agrēshu gatēshu........*"[2]

N.L. Rao who edited the grant for the first time in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*, has rendered the above lines into English as follows:

"When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the Āguptāyika kings in (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spritual lineage of the wise Varddhamāna, the twenty-fourth of the Tīrthaṅkaras, had elapsed ...."[3]

Besides the translation of this passage the accuracy of which I shall take up later, the introductory remarks of Rao regarding *āguptāyikānāṁ* etc., which are based on this translation, also deserve to be considered here. He states that, "The grant registered in the charter was made

when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kings with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kings. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spritual lineage of Varddhamāna, the 24th Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.[4] The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyikas or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Palaeographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jaina tradition and place the commencement of the reign of the Maurya emperor Chandragupta in B.C. 312–13 for this appears to be the correct date of his accession–and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era, we get 532–33 A.D. as the date of our record. But, considering the palaeography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early ; and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately."[5]

After Rao, D.C. Sircar has reviewed the issue of the Āguptāyika era in his book *Indian Epigraphy*. On palaeographic grounds he assigns the grant to about the middle of the 7th century A.D. He then goes on to speculate that Dejja may have ruled in the Belgaum region during the interregnum which ensued after the death of Pulakeśin II in 642 A.D. and before the accession of Vikramāditya I in 655 A.D., which would mean, as a corollary that the Āguptāyika era may have commenced round about (845–645=) 200 B.C. "But", he states further, "we are entirely in the dark about an era with this epoch, nor have we any information about a ruling family called Āguptāyika."[6] In his opinion, "The date portion of the Gokak plates will remain a mystery till further light is thrown on the subject. [And] We can scarcely accept the evidence of a single inscription regarding the existence of a genuine era starting from about 200 B.C. in the face of overwhelming negative evidence. The tradition about the era recorded in the Gokak plates seems to be based on a local story of Āguptāyika rulers starting 845 years previously. The story may have been fabricated by the astronomer at Dejja Mahārāja's court."[7]

These two opinions of Rao and Sircar regarding the Āguptāyika era have recently been reviewed by K.V. Ramesh in his book on *Indian Epigraphy*. According to him, the hypothesis of Sircar based mainly on the grounds of palaeography does not stand scrutiny because "the palaeography of the Gokak plates is as good for the first half of the 6th century as it is for the middle of the 7th and it is more likely that Dejja was one of the victims of Polekēśi I."[8] This, as he says, "will mean that the Āguptāyika era could as well have commenced in the second half of the 4th century B.C. in which case it could very well have been started by or reckoned after Chandragupta Maurya."[9]

While further substantiating this hypothesis which was originally put forth by N.L. Rao, Ramesh reiterates that "As a matter of fact, Dejja's domain was not far removed from Konkaṇa where, in those days, the later Mauryas were holding sway and the tradition of the Āguptāyika era may have been borrowed by Dejja from them, though they themselves have not used this reckoning in their known charters."[10] Instead of taking the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya in 312–13 B.C. as the starting year of this era, like Rao has done, Ramesh has preferred to take it from 322 B.C. which is generally taken to be the date when Chandragupta supplanted the Nandas. In accordance with this estimate, he considers the date of the Gokak plates as falling in 523-24 A.D. This date agrees with his views on political history since he feels that Dejja "must have been eliminated by Polekēśi I sometime after that date and before 543-A.D. the year in which his Bādāmi rock cliff inscription was got engraved."[11]

In order to review the whole issue afresh it is necessary to look into Rao's English rendering of the original passage which forms the basis of his belief that the Āguptāyika kings belonged to the lineage of Varddhamāna. This phrase, as we have seen, begins with the word *Iha-* meaning 'here' at this place'. In my opinion as per *dūrānvaya*, it qualifies Jaḷāra *grāma* of the Kashmāṇḍa- *vishaya* which is mentioned later in the grant.[12] Then comes *asyām* which qualifies the *avasarpiṇi* (unbroken, uninterrupted cycle) of the Tirthaṅkaras (of which, wise Varddhamāna was the 24th one).[13] After this follows the clause which refers to the ever growing spiritual lineage of this Varddhamāna wherein the donee called Āryaṇandyāchāryya resided.[14] Thus, according to my interpretation the whole passage can be translated as under:

"Here in the village of Jaḷāra situated near the mountain in the division of Kashmāṇḍi in this ever flowing and prosperous lineage belonging to the wise Varddhamāna, the 24th Tirtthaṅkara, when fortyfive after eight hundred of the years of the Āguptāyika kings has elapsed, Indraṇanda (of the pure Sēndraka family) favourite of the illustrious Dejja Mahārāja of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, gave the land measuring fifty *nivarttanas* to Āryyaṇandyārchāryya ...."[15]

Although, Rao has not stated very clearly how he associated this reckoning with Chandragupta Maurya, it is not very difficult to make out the source of his hypothesis. In my opinion, once he construed (though wrongly) the meaning of the passage as stating that the Āguptāyika kings belonged to the spiritual lineage of the Jainas, he could easily link the whole issue with the Chandragupta Maurya- who had association with the Jainas. No wonder if the suffix *gupta* of the name of Chandragupta also promted him further in this regard. But, this hypothesis of Rao which has been partly supported also by Ramesh suffers from more than one oversight.

i) First is that the Āguptāyika kings whose reckoning is used here in the date portion of the grant, did not belong to the lineage of the Jainas.

ii) Secondly, even for the sake of argument if we agree that they belonged to the Jaina lineage, the expression *Āgu-ptāyikānām rājñām* where both the terms are used in the genitive plural case hardly intends to convey the sense of Chandragupta Maurya. For, as we know, Chandragupta Maurya is better known in history by his family name, Maurya and rarely by *gupta* which is used here. Besides, none of his successors has a name in which *gupta* is appended as a suffix and thus he or his name will be unique in this regard.

Secondly, none of the Maurya kings except Chandragupta is said to have had any connection with the Jaina lineage. Thus, in my opinion, the Āguptāyika kings were in no way associated with the Jaina lineage nor does the expression '*āguptāyikānāṁ rājñām*', bears any reference to Chandragupta Maurya as such. We have therefore, to re-examine the intended sense of this expression afresh.

Before proceeding further, a word regarding Sircar's opinion on this issue will not be out of place. Sircar, as we have seen, lays rather too much emphasis on the palaeographic aspect of this grant, more even than on the real meaning of the expression *āguptāyikānām* or on the system of reckoning followed in the grant. Not being able to solve this puzzle, he ends up blaming the astronomer at Dejja's court for fabricating a local story of Āguptāyika rule. With all due respect to the great savant of Indian epigraphy, I would say that his opinion on this issue hardly merits even a reconsideration. Rather than unfairly blaming Dejja's astronomer as Sircar has done, I feel that if any individual is to be singled out either for praise or blame in this curious term, it is the composer of the grant who might be the donee Āryyaṇandyāchāryya himself in this case since no other name is referred to and he deserves appreciation not censure.

The expression *āguptāyikānām*, is an *avyayībhāva* compound formed of *ā-gupta* and *āyikānām*. It can be dissolved as–'*Guptād-ārabhy-āgatānām-āguptāyikānām iti*' and with '*tādṛiśānāṁ rājñām*' it will be *Āguptāyikānām rājñām*. This could be rendered into English as the 'kings who came (to be known) after Gupta'. In other words, it could be construed as the reckoning that 'belongs to the kings of the Gupta family'. With reference to our context, it will mean in the era of the Guptas. And the era of the Guptās, as we know from other sources, begins from 319 A.D. onwards.

Now before curiosity reaches its climax and the readers become impatient I should hasten to add here that in the phrase *āguptāyikānām* etc., the *avyaya ā* forms the crux of the whole phrase. And, without realising the proper usage of (*avyaya*) *ā* in this context, we are bound to miss the desired sense of the phrase which has been so cleverly used by the composer of the grant.

Coming to the particle *ā*, we notice that according to the definition in Pāṇini's *sūtra* "*Āṅ maryyād=ābhividhyoḥ*,"[16] it expresses both the sense of the limit exclusive (*maryyādā*) and also the sense of the

limit inceptive (*abhividhi*), when used in a compound.

Although, in the popular usage like that of Kalidāsa's "so=' haṁ=ā janma-śuddhānām = āphalōdaya-karmaṇām, ā samudra-kshitīśānām = ānāka-ratha-vartmanām'' etc.,[17] Mallinātha and other commentators have construed the meaning of the particle *ā* in the sense of the limit inceptive only,[18] they have hot ruled out the possibility of its use in the sense of the limit exclusive (*maryyād-ārthatva*)[19] as well. Infact, in the *sūtra* of Pāṇini (quoted above) the sense of *maryyādā* is the first one which is given credence by him. Not detaining myself here for the sake of more examples from the classical literature which can be easily gathered,[20] I would like to demonstrate how the application of Pāṇini's *sūtra*, *āṅ maryyād=ābhividhyōḥ*, helps us in determining the date of the Gōkak plates mentioned here with the help of the Gupta era.

In accordance with the *sūtra* of Pāṇini which approves the use of the particle *ā* in the sense of *maryyādā*,[21] the phrase 'āguptāyikānāṁ rājñām=ashṭāsu varsha śatēshu paṁcha - chatvāriṁśad - agrēshu gatēshu' could be rendered as follows:

"When eight hundred plus fortyfive years from which the reckoning of the kings who succeeded king Gupta is to be excluded, had elapsed."

OR

"When eight hundred plus fortyfive years precluding the reckoning of the kings who succeeded king Gupta, had elapsed."

This explanation of the term leads us to conclude:

i) that the year 845 of this record refers to some reckoning of a local nature which was neither having any wider circulation nor even the recognition in the area other than that of its own.[22]

ii) In order to have the validity of the grant and its date, known and recognised widely, the composer had to take help of an era which was known and also recognised in a wider area. And, as we know, there were two such reckonings in the time of Dejja Mahārāja, which were widely used and also quite popular. In the north, it was the reckoning of the Gupta kings which is supposed to have started from 319 A.D. and in the south and the south-west it is Śaka era believed to have been started sometimes in the year 78 A.D.

iii) If we agree with the supposition of Ramesh (and rightly so) who believes that king 'Dejja must have been eliminated by Polekēśi I' sometimes in between 523-24 A.D. and 543 A.D., it is not difficult to surmise that the composer of the grant of Dejja would have avoided even an indirect reference to Śaka era which was patronised by Chalukyas since they were the adversaries of his patron. In this case, the choice naturally falls on the reckoning of the Guptas, that too for making 319 as minus from the figure 845 of the local era.

iv) Thus, if we makse 319 minus from the figure of 845 we arrive at the date of 526 A.D. and that is the date

which also agrees with the political history of that time and region. But for the fact that Ramesh has inconclusively supported the hypothesis of Mauryan era, he seems to be right in supposing the date of Dejja Mahārāja in relation to the Chalukyas of Vatāpi as falling in between 523-24 A.D. and 543 A.D.

Notes :

1 *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289–92 and plates

2 *Ibid.*, p. 291, text lines 2–6

3 *Ibid.*, p. 292, translation

4 Italics provided is mine

5 *op. cit.*, p 290

6 *Indian Epigraphy* by D.C. Sircar, Delhi, 1965, pp. 325–26

7 *Ibid*

8 *Indian Epigraphy* by K.V. Ramesh, Delhi, 1984, Vol. I, pp. 85–86

9 *Ibid*

10 *Ibid.*, italics provided is mine

11 *Ibid.*,

12 *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 291–92, text lines 8–9. of. "*Kashmāṇḍī vishayē parvvata pratyāsanna Jaḷara-grāmē....*".

13 cf. the text whieh reads, "*Tīrtthakarāṇām Chaturviṁśatitamasya sanmatēḥ Sri Varddhamānasya*".

14 cf. the text, "*Jaḷāra-grāmē Jambūkhaṇḍa-gaṇasthāya jñāna-darśana-tapas-sampannāya Āryyaṇandyāchāryyāya kshētran= dattavān........*".

15 For thc sake of brevity I have skipped over certain expressions of the text which are not so relevent here for our purpose.

16 *Ashṭādhyāyi*, of Paṇiṇi, ed. S.C. Vasu, Delhi (reprint), 1961, ii, 1.13.

17 *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 5

18 Ibid., cf. the Sanskrit commentary which says "*Atra sarvatr-āṅo= bhividhyarthatvaṁ drashṭavyam.*"

19 *Ibid.*, commentary part.

20 See Monier- Williams' Dictionary, p. 126 where he explains '*ā-samudram or ā-samudrāt*' in the sense of from the ocean (but not including it)'. Besides this, see Apte's Dictionary p. 184, where under *abhividhi* he explains the definition of *maryyādā* as '*tēna vinā maryyādā*'.

21 See Apte's Dict. (p. 184) which explains the *sūtrā* of Pāṇiṇi in the sense of 'the limit *conclusive* as opposed to the limit *inceptive*'.

22 My sincere thanks are due to Ms. Cynthia Talbot for going through the manuscript of this paper, certain editorial remarks and finally for the suggestion of the local era possibly being used in this record.

16 AN INTERESTING INSCRIPTION FROM SIRONJ IN MADHYA PRADESH

M. Y. Quddusi

The inscription which is studied below is found fixed on the right side entrance of the present civil court building at Sironj[1], a tahsil headquarters in the Vidisha district of Madhya Pradesh. Sironj was an important centre, seat of learning, abode of saints and scholars and a unit of *pargana*[2] administration. The Āin-i-Akbarī mentions Sironj as the pargana headquarters in the Sarkār of Chandēri of Mālva province.[3] Its muslin was famous. Under the later Mughals the place retained its popular glory in various fields of life. When the Marāṭhas occupied Mālva, Sironj contained to be a pargana and main centre of trade.

The stone slab bearing the Persian inscription contains 9 lines of writing executed in Nasta'līq characters. One or two words in the text are effaced. But it makes no difference in the decipherment of the text. The inscription which starts with the invocation of God by his attribute refers itself to the rule of the Mughal emperor Muḥammed Shāh. It also mentions the Marāṭha king Mahārāja Shāhū. It states that the gateway of *Mandavī Namak* (Salt market) was constructed when Savāi Bālājī was the *Nāzim*(governor) of the *Sūbah* of Mālvā, the *Mukāsdār* of the pargana of Sironj under the supervision of Rāghūjī Pandit and Bāghāji Pandit when Gōbind Mōdhājī Pandit was the *Dārūgha* of the *Mandavī Namak*. It is dated in the 29th regnal year of Muḥammad Shāh corresponding to A.H. 1154 and V.S. 1803.

Before we discuss the inscription proper, it is necessary to take stock of the poritical conditions of the period to which our record belongs.

After the death of Aurangazeb in 1707 A.D., the Mughal empire under his successors began to crumble. The Marāṭhas, the Nizām and other regional chiefs took full advantage of the political chaos proving their military strength over the Mughals. The *Subah* of Mālva (including Bundelkhand) was subjected to frequent raids by the Marāṭhas. Though the Mughals resisted their onslaughts they could not retain the province for long. The Marāṭha chiefs Malhār Rāo Hōlkar and Rānōji Sindhia under Pēshwa's direction continued the Marāṭha expansion, consolidation and appointments of their own officials for the collection of *Chauth*[4] and *Sandeshmukhi*.[5] Bālāji Bāji Rāo, the third Pēshwa(1740-1760 A.D.) met Savāi Jai Singh, the governor of Mālva on May 12, 1741 A.D. and an agreement was signed by which Jai Singh would pay a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs of rupees to the Pēshwa and promised to obtain for him the royal *Sanad* for the governorship of Mālva. In return, the Pēshwa agreed to present himself before the Mughal emperor, prevent the other Marāṭha chieftains from crossing the Narmadā and raiding the imperial territory and

send four thousand troops for the imperial service. This mutual pact was approved by the emperor and a *firmān* was issued in September 1741 A.D.[6] and grants for Mālva was approved which empowered the Pēshwa with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the province. Thus the Marāṭha interests were legalised and the province passed into their direct control.

The epigraph under discussion which measures 43 by 43 cm., has been read as under :-

TEXT

1 Yā Fattāḥ

2 (i) Muḥammad Shāhī (ii) Shrī Mahārāja Sāhū

3 Dar hangām-i-Nizāmat Basālat Martabat Savāi Bālāji Nāzim-i-Sūbah-i-Mālvā

4 Nā'ib-i-imarāt wa 'Awālī Manzilat. . . . . .dar 'amal - i - rif'at-panāh

5 Lachhman Shankar Pandit, Mokāsdār pargan-i-Sironj, Darwāza-i-Mandawī-Namak

6 ba - intimām - i - Rāghūjī Pandit wa Bāghājī Pandit wa Dārūghi - i - Gobind Mohājī

7 Pandit, Dārūgha - i - Mandavī. Marqūm ba - tārīkh Ghurra Shahr

8 Jumādīu'th - Thānī San bist - wa - nahum[29] Jūlūs, Mutābiq sana 1154 (recte 1159) Hijrī

9 Ashādha sudī Tij Sambat (Samvat) 18(0)3 Nau aḥdāth yāft.

TRANSLATION

1 O Opener !

2 (i) Muḥammad Shāhī (ii) Shrī Mahārāja Sāhū

3 During the period of the governorship of high dignity, Savā'ī Bālājī, the governor of the province of Mālvā

4 the deputy of the government and of illustrious rank . . . . during the time of high refuge

5 Lachhman Shankar Pandit, Mokāsdār of Pargana Sironj, tha gate of salt market (*Mandavī-Namak*)

6-9) Was built anew through the efforts of Rāghūjī Pandit and Bāghājī Pandit and during the Dārughiship of Gōbind Mōdhājī Pandit, the Superintendant of the market. Written on the 1st of the month of Jumādīu'th - Thānī, 29th regnal year (of the emperor) corresponding to year 1154 Hijrī, Āshāḍha śudī tij Sambat (Samvat) 18[0]3.

The inscription is historically important. It throws light not only on the regional history during the Marāṭha period but also throws a bit of light on the administrative system of the Marāṭhas during the period. The record which mentions the name of the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh and his regnal year with the corresponding Hijri year indicates the Marāṭha allegiance to the Mughal emperor, although it was nominal. The name of the Mughal emperor with his regnal years also appears on the coins issued by the Marāṭhas during that period. Lachhman Shankar Pandit finds mention as *Mokāsdār*[7] of Sironj Pargana. The *Mokāsdār* was the direct representative of the Pēshwa. He was in charge of the district administration with executive, judicial and revenue powers. He was assisted by in his work by *Kāmvisdār*, who was subordinate or deputy of *Mokāsdār*. We have no details in the available sources about the previous assignments of Lachhman Shankar Pandit who was *Mokāsdār* of Pargana Sironj, during whose tenure, the gateway of the Salt market was built. The persons who made efforts in the construction of the above gate are referred to in this inscription. They were Raghujī Pandit and Bāghāji Pandit. Though they were connected with the work, their official positions are not mentioned. The name of Gōbind Mōdhāji Pandit also appears as the *dārūgha* of the market, under whose superintendency the work was completed.

It is difficult to say whether all the above four officials belonged to one and the same family. It seems these Brahmins surnamed as Pandit were held in high esteem and were associated with this region in official capacity.

Mandavī-Namak as mentioned in the text was a place or market where salt was brought for sale. It was a sort of wholesale market. We have references to various kinds of *maṇḍis* or markets existing in the cities and named after commodities sold there, like *Ghalla Maṇḍi*, *Shakar Maṇḍi*, *Namak Maṇḍi* etc.[8] According to the author of *Athār-i-Mālva*,who had seen the building of Mandavi-Namak mentioned above that there existed shops at the end of the last century, where the salt-market to Sironj used to be held.[9] The *Dārūgha-i-Mandavī-i-Namak* was the important Government official of the market. For proper inspection and checking of the salt brought in the market for sale, necessary dues on the sale of the salt were collected through the agents of the *dārūgha*.

As is the fact, that we have no details about the district officers under the Pēshwa who controlled and carried out the administration of the villages and parganas in their capacity as *Mokāsdārs*, *Kāmvisdārs* & *Paṭēl* etc. associated with financial, civil and judiciary. Contemporary letters and other accounts available so far do not furnish such details in this regard. From this point of view, the present inscription with some details is very important.

Notes –

I am highly thankful to the Superintending Epigraphist, Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, A.S.I., Nagpur for permitting me to edit this inscription.

1 *ARIE.*, 1960–61, No. D. 129. This inscription is not in site. Previously it was fixed on the gate of the Salt-market. The gate is still in ruined condition. In 1923, the said inscription was removed and fixed in Kot which is at present known as court building. See, Sayyid Aḥmad Murtada, *Athār–i–Mālwa*, Delhi, (No Date), p. 104.

2 *Pargana*. A District or a tract of country comprising many villages. Wilson, *op.cit.*, p. 402.

3 Abu'l–Faḍl *Ain-i-Akbari* (Eng. tr) Jarrett, H.S., (Calcutta, 1949), p. 213.

4 *Chauth*. An assessment equal to one-fourth of the original standard assessment, or generally to onefourth of the actual Govenment collections demanded by the Marāṭhas from the Mohammadans and Hindu rulers, as the price of forbearing to ravage their countries. The Chauth was collected by the Marāṭhas through their own agents. See for details, Wilson, H. H. *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* etc. (Delhi, 1968), pp. 106-107.

5 *Sardesmukhi*. The office of head Deshmukh. The portion of 10 percent exacted by the Marāṭhas from the revenues of the Muslim territories, in addition to Chauth. Wilson, *op.cit.*, p. 466.

6 Raghuvir Singh, *Malwa Men Yuganter Ya Arajaktapurna Shatabdi Purwakal* (Indore, 1938) pp. 300-304 ; R.C. Majumdar (ed), *The Maratha Supremacy* (Bombay, 1977), pp. 175-76.

7 *Mokāsdār*. The holder of villages or lands, at a quit-rent or rent-free, on condition of service under the Marāṭha government. He had much the same power as *mamlatdār*. He was in charge of a division styled pargana or prant assisted by *Kāmvisdār*, his subordinate or deputy. Wilson, *op.cit.*, p. 353; Majumdar, R.C., *op.cit.*, pp. 556-57.

8 *Manḍi*. A market, a special market, one for any particular article; Perhaps the original of the word Mandooy. Wilson., *op.cit.*, p. 328. Mirza Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* (Suppl), Calcutta, 1930, p. 223.

9 *Āthār-i-Mālwa*, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

17 A RECONSIDERATION OF AHAR INSCRIPTION IN THE LIGHT OF RELIGIO - ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE

Y. B. Singh

The Ahar inscription which contains several deeds belonging to the period falling in between A.D 865-66 to 904-05 has been successful in attracting the attention of scholars like Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and Professor C. D. Chatterjee.[1] The latter's opinion about the vexed question of numerous dates occurring on a single piece of sand stone is taken as the last word.[2] Yet a careful study of the said epigraph, presented here, shows the possibility of his less emphasised hint in the context,[3] as well as certain facts concerning the religious and economic aspects of the period to which the inscribed document belongs.

So far as the well accepted suggestions of Prof. C. D. Chatterjee regarding the transfer of the deeds from perishable material to a durable one goes, it may be pointed out in the light of his own view that there is every possibility of the first gift having been engraved on that stone and subsequent additions being made thereon with the growth of endowment of the temple of Goddess Kāñchanadēvī[4]. The calligraphic peculiarities too tend to lead us to the conclusion that the same engraver was perhaps employed for the execution of all the records. Keeping in view the time span and the hereditary nature of professions in those days the proposition appears to be quite cogent. The absence of uniformity in the form of some of the names of a deity occurring in the inscription and extra scrupulousness shown in the description of boundaries of each individual property hint at the feasibility of the suggestion. For, a copyist, in this case acting as engraver, would never ignore the original document or documents. Whereas recording, if done after certain intervals may cause variations due to the involvement of composer's imagination and lust for making the composition a piece of literature. Moreover the use of two words *likhitam* and *utkīṇa* used in connection with two *dūtakas* should also be kept in mind while analysing the above.[5] Moreover the very thought suggesting the recording of the deeds which contain a contract valid for a long period of ninetynine years on an easily perishable material in itself is not very sound. Another important point related with the problem is the common tendency among the devotees for which a particular god or goddess is remembered by his or her several aliases. In the present case, the names of the goddess i.e. Kañchanadēvī, Kāñchanadēvī and Kanakaśrīdēvī are almost synonymous and can easily be taken as the reflection of the said spirit.[6]

Coming to the religious information inferred from the inscription it seems that it is the worship of Śakti which was popular atleast among the trading class and this is to some extent obvious. Traders had always

been inclined towards worship of that goddess of wealth and other forms of Śakti associated with affluence. The benign forms mentioned in the record like Nandā-Bhagavatī and Sarvamaṅgalā can very well be cited as examples to support the thesis.[7] Further the inscription nowhere mentions the *ugra* forms of the Śaktī. The record also indicates the prevalence of the worship of God Vishṇu through his incarnations.[8] Besides the references to temples dedicated to his incarnations, the names of the people like Padmanābha, Mādhava and Madhusūdana are also there to indicate the Vaishṇava leanings.[9] The narrative contained in the document clearly indicates the domination of the people having faith in Vishṇu and later when the market was captured by the emigrants from Bhillamāla who were worshippers of Lakshmī, the Vaishṇava shrines had passed into oblivion. The suggestion that the worship of various forms of Bhagavatī gained prominence due to the patronage provided by king Bhōja Pratīhāra, a devotee of that deity appears to be unfounded.[10] The rulers generally were of secular leanings and in case of king under discussion it is more apparent. Inspite of certain epigraphs referring to that ruler as a devotee of Bhagavatī the title Ādivarāha speaks about his regards for God Vishṇu.[11] Still further, since Vishṇu is taken as *pālaka* responsible for maintenance of beings, the rulers had always been equated with Vishṇu to emphasize the *pālana* (maintenance) of the subjects as the main duty of a king, the mundane counterpart of that celestial power.[12] Moreover, the scholar's another suggestion that *rāja* Kshatriyas were of Gurjara stock and thus have had the favour of Pratīhāras in comparison with local Kshatriyas is contradicated from another information.[13] One of the so called *rāja* Kshatriya Sāhaka was also forced to pledge his property to *Mahājanas* for need of money.[14] Naturally it is almost impossible for a ruler to provide monetary help to each and every person of his caste. Hovever, the term *rāja* Kshatriya was certainly in use to make difference between a Kshatriya of the sub-caste of a ruling family and other Kshatriyas during the phase when honorific *rājaputra* was in vogue to mark higher social status of the male members of royal family in comparison with those of the other members of their sub-caste.

While taking into consideration the economic aspects of the data available from the inscription we have the suggestion that traders belonging to a particular subcast of the Vaiśya community migrated form Bhillamāla to establish business near Kanauj the new capital of their Pratīhāra overlord.[15] However, Anupshahar is not that near to Kanauj and therefore, the argument does not appear to be correct. What seems more plausible is that due to the decline in trade which was in the concerned centuries due to the disturbed trade routes and other reasons, the trading community was passing through an economic crisis. The said type of migrations were thus taking place for the economic survival. Further, whensoever competition becomes tough big traders prevail upon small ones. Perhaps it was this factor for which few traders from Billamāla came to Tattānandapura and gradually succeeded in dominating

the local traders and other inhabitants who were economically unable to maintain their position due to the tough competition in the market caused by the slump and consequential decay of the trade centre under discussion. It is an accepted fact that ambitious people unable to compete with more powerful and willy people at home migrate to areas having less competition and more avenues. This with another fact, if put together, will clear the causes responsible for the success of emigrants. The traders and inhabitants of Tattānandapura belonged to non-trading community and therefore were not having the perfect knowledge of traditional technical acumen possessed by a Vaiśya. And, therefore, Māthuras, rāja Kshatriyas and Chāturvaidyas failed to compete the business expertise of the emigrants from Bhillamāla.[16] The gold dealers from the said place, on the other hand, having enterprise like those of present day Mārvāṛis of that region continued to prosper and the *gōshṭhī* formed by them for the management of temple dedicated to Goddess Kañchanadēvī too became prominent due to the subsequent additions in its assets.[17]

The most important datum obtained from the inscription is connected with the lease system. The ninetynine years lease system known to our own days is mentioned in all the contracts which were made by the managing *gōshṭhī* of the temple.[18] The inscription also speaks with certainty about the enjoyment of rent of buildings which were given for the said period. Now if the buildings or the income obtained from them were purchased for ever by the *gōshṭhī* what was the purpose for mentioning the time limit as tradionally the grants were supposed to remain valid so long as the Moon and Sun endure. Under the circumstances more logical would be to accept the deeds not as sale deeds. Most probably these pertain to mortgage entitling the mortgaged to enjoy the rent of shops, etc, for the stipulated period in lieu of a fixed sum of money whose interest was perhaps a little less than the amout of rent of the mortgaged buildings. If so, this was the reason for which boundaries of mortgaged shops, etc, are mentioned with particular cave.

Notes :

1. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff, *The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society,* Vol. III, September, 1926, pt. II, pp. 83 ff; The place nowadays is associated with Rukmiṇī the chief wife of Lord Kṛishṇa though as per paurāṇic tradition, she belonged to Vidarbha. For detail see W. J. Wilkins, *Mythology (Vedic aud Puranic)*, p. 179. This is the clear reflection of the tendency to associate places particularly those of religious importance with divine figures of paurāṇic mythology. The trend is found from Gupta period onward perhaps to attract the pilgrims whose liberal offerings provided money for the maintenance of temples and priests. Nevertheless the town was planned as per Śāstric injunctions regarding the placing of *āyatana* of godeess Nandā, etc. Nandā is another name of Gaurī. Probably in view of the prescribed place of temples dedicated to different gods and goddesses within a town, utmost care was taken in describing the boundaries and other details of such buildings.

2. C. D. Chatterjee. "The Ahar stone inscription" published in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. III, September 1926, pt. II pp. 83 ff.

3. *Ibid*;

4. *E. I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff.

5. C. D. Chatterjee, *op cit.*, p. 101.

6. *Kañchana* and *Kanaka* both mean gold. The goddess of Sauvarṇika Mahājana, the gold dealer perhaps was remembered as the Goddess of gold.

7. *E. I.* Vol. XIX, p. 57.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

10. C. D. Chatterjee, *op cit.*, p. 102.

11. R. C. Majumdar (ed), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 32, *E.I.*, Vol. V, Daulatpur Copper plate refers to him as a devotee of Bhagavatī.

12. N C. Bandhopadhyaya, *Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, pp. 296–97 ; R. C. Majumdar (ed), *The Classical Age*, pp. 344–46 ; Y. R. Singh, *History* of Medieval Kashmir and Kashmir Saivism – a socio-economic probe paper presented at All India Seminar on Kashmir Śaivism organised by P.G.D. of Sanskrit, Jammu University, Jammu, 17–19 December, 1983.

13. C. D. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

14. *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 56.

15. Ibid., p. 54.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff. The houses and shops were purchased from a *rāja* Kshatriya, a Kshatriya merchant, Chāturvaidyas and a Māthura.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

18 AMMAIAPPAN AN ATIYAMAN CHIEF UNDER RAJARAJA III

P. Venkatesan

Saṅgam literature asserts that from time immemorial, the Chōlas and Atiyamāns were ruling, independently, a portion of the Tamil country, which fact is also attested by the inscriptions of Aśōka. With the advent of the mysterious Kaḷabhras, darkness shrouded the fortunes of these dynasties until the accession of Chōḷa Vijayālaya in the second quarter of the nineth century A.D. The fortunes of the illustrious Atiyamāns seem to have fallen to a low ebb that the scions of this ancient royal line found themselves compelled to seek service and patronage under the flourishing Chōḷas during this period. This fact is known from many inscriptions. I happened to copy one such new inscription,[1] in the course of my collection tour, from Śiyamaṅgalam in the North Arcot District, Tamil Nadu.

Engraved on a natural rock inside the southern enclosure (*prākāra*) of the rock-cut Śiva temple of Pallava Mahēndravarmaṉ, this inscription, in Tamil language and alphabet, is dated in the 12th regnal year of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III (1228-29 A.D.). It is in beautiful Tamil verse, composed in the *Śanda Viruttappā* metre.[2] In all it contains six lines of writing.

The object of the inscription is to record the following: 1. Creation of a holy street (*tiru-vīdi*) around the hill in which the temple is situated. This is for the purpose of taking the temple elephant in procession. 2. The institution of a flower garden (*nandavanam*). 3. The construction of a tower (*gōpuram*). 4. The excavation of a tank (*vāvi*). 5. The construction of a sluice (*madagu*), to the tank and 6. The construction of an enclosure wall (*madiḷ*). These endowments were made infavour of the deity enshrined in the temple (*danmīcharam*) at Śiyamaṅgalam, during the 12th regnal year of Śrī Rājarāja dēvar, by a certain Ammaiappaṉ Kiḷavai Adigamāṉ, who is compared with Pāri in munificence (*koḍai*).

The inscription is important as it gives, for the first time, the name Ammaiappaṉ Kiḷivai Adigamāṉ who was probably a descendent of the illustrious Atiyamāṉ family of the Saṅgam age. The inscription is equally important in as much as it gives the date of the construction of the additional structures such as *tiru-vīdi*, *gōpuram* and *madiḷ* etc., to the already existing rock-cut Śiva temple, which was excavated during the time of the Pallava king Mahēndravaramaṉ I.[3] It states that the donor of our inscription caused these constructions during the 12th regnal year of Rājarāja III, which corresponds to 1228-29 A.D.

The inscription is important from the literary point of view also, for, the text is written in an excellent Tamil verse composed in *Śanda Viruttappā* metre. In the multitude of Tamil inscriptions, such inscriptions are, indeed, very rare.[4]

The great importance of the inscription, however, lies in the fact that it cherishes the glorious tradition of the Tamil Saṅgam age, as it makes a direct reference to Koḍaip - Pāri, a king renowned for his munificence and who lived in the classical Saṅgam age. We learn from the celebrated Saṅgam classics that Pāri was the chieftain of Parambu-nāḍu, which consisted of 300 villages. We are further informed by his court-poet that the king was so great in munificence that he gifted away all the 300 villages for charitable purposes.[5] The Saṅgam literature extolls him by comparing with rain.[6] The story that he endowed his own chariot for a tender jasmine creeper, which was tossing in wind and suffering for want of a support to spread upon illustrates his kindness even towards the plants. Our inscription acclaims by comparing Ammaiappaṉ Kiḻivai Atigamāṉ with the famous Pāri of the Saṅgam age for his benevolance. This comparison amply exemplifies the fact that the Saṅgam classics continued to be popular with the people of the Tamil country and that they continued to inspire the people through the ages. While the endowments lile the *nandavanam*, *tiruvīdi* and *madagu* remained only ephemeral, the *gōpuram*, *madiḷ* and *vāvi* have become permanent, which survive intact till this date.

The occurrance of the ancient dynastic title Atiyamāṉ as a suffix to his proper name, the comparison made of him with another chieftain of the Saṅgam age and the lofty structures that he had erected to the temple in the provincial capital[7] of Śiyamaṅgalam make us to believe that our Atigamāṉ might have been an important person, wielding some considerable political influence, in all probablity a position similar to that of a feudatory or a local chieftain under Rājarāja III.

Although a resurrection of the Atiyamāṉ dynasty has never been made on a grand scale as that of the Chōḷas, the scions of this illustrious family, even in their period of dispossession, appear to have searched out fortune is attested by the occurrance of many such names claiming Atiyamāṉ connections. Thus we come across, probably for the first time in the Chōḷa period an individual by name Tagaṭṭūr Nāgaṉ Atiyaṉ as a signatory of a copper-plate inscription of Sundara Chōḷa, copied from Paḷḷaṉkōyil in Thanjavur District. We find one Sāmantaṉ Atiyaṉ, who made the gift of a golden *mēkhalai*, weighing 30 *kaḻañju* of gold is figuring in another inscription[9] dated in the 19th regnal year (1197 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga III. Sāmantaṉ, it may be noted was an official designation of a feudatory or a chieftain. A certain Kūḍalūr Uḍaiyāṉ Vīra-Śēkharaṉ *alias* Atigaimāṉ is found mentioned in an inscription[10] of the same king as the donor of a perpetual lamp to the temple at Kūḍalūr. Two persons, one by name Dēvara Atikairājar, whose *pradhāni* is referred to as a certain .... Kaṭṭimāṉ and second Kāṭapōyaṉ Eriyappōttaṉ *alias* Adigaimāṉ, a *pradhāṇi* of Yādavarāyar[12] are referred to in two inscriptions of Rājarāja III, both copied from Guḍimallam in Chittoor District, Andhra Pradesh.

By a study of the names mentioned above, it is difficult to surmise that these individuals were the descendents of the ancient Atiyamāṉ family. But the suffix

Atiyamāṉ in most of the cases is found used not as a proper name but as a surname; in other words the family name. This makes us to believe that they might have had some connection with the ancient family of Atiyamāṉs of the Saṅgam age. If this is accepted, then it goes to prove that Ammaiappaṉ Kiḷivai Atigamāṉ, the donor of our inscription was also a descendant of the illustrious Atiyamāṉ family. In the name Ammaiappaṉ Kiḷivai Atigamāṉ, Ammaiappaṉ seems to be his proper name, Atigamāṉ his surname or family name and Kiḷivai probably the name of his native place.

TEXT[13]

Svasti Śrī [॥*]

1. Tirumaṉṉu ŚiRāśa rāśadēvaṟkut
2. Tirundiyavāṉ = dāṟiṇḍir Śīyamaṅ - galattiṟ
3. Tarumaṉṉu Poḷiṟṟaṉmīch - Charatturaivār tamakkut
4. Taṉiyāṉi malaiśūḷat - tiruvīdi kaṇḍāṉ
5. Marumaṉṉu nandavaṉaṅ gōpuramum vāvi
6. Madagu madiḷ tiruveḍuttuk - kaṭṭi mattuñ cheydāṉ
7. Aruḷmaṉṉu Koḍaip - Pāri Ammaiappaṉ Chemmai
8. Aḍaindavarā - laiyaṉkiḷi - vai Atigamānē [॥*]

PLATE

Notes :

1 I am thankful to the Director (Epigraphy) for giving me permission to publish this paper. This paper is based on the inscription copied by me from Śīyamaṇgalam. It is included in the *A.R.Ep.*, 1985-85.

2 In Tamil grammer *Śanda Viruttappā* metre is also known as *Eṇśīrk-kaḷineḍil āśiriya viruttam.*

3 For a detailed study of this rock-cut temple please refer to K. R. Srinivasan's *Cave temples of Pallavas*, p. 89, A.S.I. publication, Deihi, 1964.

4 An inscription of Rājēndra III, year 12 (1257-58 A. D.) copied from Kaḷḷaperumbūr in Thanjavur District is in the same metre. This inscription is published in *S.I.I.* Vol. XVII, No. 626.

5 *Puṟam*, No. 110, p. 115, Edn. 1894

6 *Ibid.*, No. 106, p. 113, Edn. 1894.

7 For further study on Śiyamaṅgalam as a provincial capital please refer to the author's article (in manuscript stage now) included in *Ep. Ind.*

8 *A.S.S.I.*, Transactions for the year 1958-59, p. 103.

9 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 786.

10 *Ibid.*, No. 941.

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 517.

12 *Ibid.*, No. 520.

13 The text is given according the metre.

19 DEVAL-THAL COPPER PLATE OF RAIKA KALANA MALA

Maheshwar P. Joshi

The copper plate grant under study was noticed by the present author at Deval-thal (district Pithoragarh, U.P.).[1] It measures approximately 25×15 cm in width and length respectively. It is scribed on only one side and the average size of the letters is approximately 0.80 cm. The language of the charter is Kumāonī and the script is Nāgarī. There is no seal affixed to the plate which by itself does not detract from its authenticity.[2] The plate has been scribed as a result of which some letters are mis-shapen and disfigured. Spelling and grammatical mistakes are also noticed in some instances. It is interesting to note that proper names of the witnesses have been rendered into their local colloquial forms.

The end of a sentence is not denoted. There is a solitary example showing use of *anusvāra* which is denoted by a single circle on the top of the letter to which it belongs; in rest of the cases it has not been used. There is a close resemblance between *ch* and *v* and *r* and *t*. Letter *sh* has been used for *kh*.

The plate purports to confer some gift, the subject matter of which is not described, to the family of bard Haripāla by Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja Raikā Kalaṇa Mala Pāya (Pāla ?). However, from the terms *sarva dōsha niradoshā* and *sarva kara akarā* used in the plate it may be suggested that the gift has been subject to certain *dōshas* (burdens/disputes/defects) and *karas* (levies). It is to be noted that in contemporary and later Chandra copper plate grants of Kumaon almost similar expressions have been used in connection with the land grants described therein.[3] On this analogy the authenticity of the present copper plate may be doubted, for, it does not mention any particular gift-land area to which it is applied, unless it is presumed that the land in possession of the family of bard Haripāla was already well demarcated by an earlier grant which was later on confirmed by the donor of the present copper plate. Alternately, the plate might have been originally fixed on a particular place within an estate which was ear-marked and well known to the people. It is likely that the people of Kālī Kumāon region where the Raikās ruled were economically and culturally backward during the peried relevant to this note. Naturally the draft of a copper plate was bound to be not-so-skillful. That by itself may provide a sound reason for absence of identifying details of the subject matter which for all practical purposes stood well identified in the knowledge of all concerned. In this respect the witnesses of the deed played a vital role in such type of grants for it were they who ultimately decided the area of the land-grant in case of a dispute.[4]

The plate has been dated in Śaka era 1365 corresponding to 1443-44 A.D., but the regnal year of the Raikā king is not given. He was no doubt a contemporary of king Bhāratī Chandra of Kumāon who was very hostile to the Raikās.

Atkinson recorded[5]:

"The Rainkā Rāja of Doti of the Malla Family had for generations been acknowledged as suzerain of the Kāli Kumāon district, and a younger branch of the same family with the title of Bam Sāhi held almost independent control of Sīrā and Sor on the left bank of the Sarju. It was against them that Bhārati Chand first directed his arms. Raised to power, as it were, by the popular will, he was enabled to collect a large and serviceable body of followers with whom he invaded Doti every year and, fixing his camp at a place called Bāli Chaukūr, conducted plundering operations over all the neighbouring territory. Never before had a Kumāoni force remained so long in the field, and the soldiery unable to return to their homes contracted temporary alliances with the women of the place, a practice formerly unknown and hitherto deemed contrary to the usages of the Hindus. These women were called Khatakwāli and eventually gave rise to a separate caste and to such a degradation of the military caste in Hindu eyes that the hill Rajpūt is now considered a mere Khasiya though he may have been descended from settlers from the plains of pure lineage. When the war had lasted for twelve years, Ratan Chand, the son of Bhārati Chand, who had been left in charge of Kāli Kumāon, having received aid from the Rāja of Katehir, collected a large reinforcement and joined his father in time to take part in a general action in which the Rainka Rāja was defeated. Doti was plundered and the Rainka agreed to relinquish all pretensions to any claim over the Chand possessions".

"The term Malla Sāhi was given to the junior members of the reigning family in Doti, the head of which was known as the Rainkā Rāja, and he allowed the petty princes who paid him tribute to bear the title of Rāja. Thus the Chands were Rājas of Champāwat and called their fortress Rāj-būnga, but allowed no one subordinate to them to call themselves Rāja".

It is to be noted that while this protracted war between Bhāratī Chandra and the Rainkā Rāja is well remembered the name of the Rainkā Rāja is forgotten. According to Atkinson[6] Bhāratī Chandra ruled from 1437 to 1450.

Therefore, Raikā Kalaṇa Mala– the donor of the present copper plate– may be identified with the Raikā adversary of King Bhāratī Chandra. In this connection it is also to be noted that Raikā Kalaṇa Mala does not figure in the pedigrees of Kaikā dynasty as recorded by Atkinson.[7] Thus the present copper plate adds a valuable information to our knowledge. It is the first ever known document of its kind belonging to the Raikā Rājās of Kālī Kumāon. It also lends support to the tradition that the Raikās enjoyed suzerainty of Kālī Kumāon region.

TEXT

1 Śrī sasidhi(ddhi) Sā(Śā)kē 1365 māsau 10 tithau 16 va-

2 re 2 Sri(Śrī) Mahāra(rā)jādhirāja Mahārāja Raikā jyu Kala-

3 ṇa Mala Pāya(la ?) le data dini Haripāla bhāṭa rāṭha lē

4 pāi [I*] Sarvadōsha bhi(ni)radōshā sarva kara akarā kai

5 data dini bhāṭana lē pāi [I*] Patra sāki Surja Chaṁdra, Sagatu Pa-

6 nēru [,*] Chandra Vama Deuvā Idra Vama Vōa [,*] Tihara Siga Vishṭa

7 Guju Seṭi Amē(nē)ka Sāuda Hari Maṭā

8 li Rupu Vo ro [,*] Deukuna Vo ro Sauda Sirolā [I*]

9 Lishina Sāuku Seṭi Sutra Agana Data Bhai [I*]

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

Śrī. The prosperous and successful second (week) day, sixteenth lunar day, tenth month, year 1365 of Śaka era, *Śrī Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja* Raikā Kalaṇa Mala Pāya(Pāla ?) conferred the gift received by the family of bard Haripāla. The gift made (after having) all defects rendered defect-free (and) all levies exempted was received by the *bhāṭas* (bards). The deed witnesses being Surja Chaṁdra, Sagatu Paneru, Chadra Vama Deuvā, Idra Vama Voa, Ṭihara Siga Vishṭa, Guju Seṭi, Ameka (Aneka) Sāuda, Jaita Bhaḍāri, Hari Muṭāli, Rupu Voro (and) Deukuna Voro Sāuda Sirolā. (The draft of the deed was) written by Sāuka Seṭi and Sutra Agana Data.

Notes :

*[The projeet on which the present study is based is financed by the Indian Council of Historical Research. The ICHR is, however, not responsible for the facts and conclusions stated in this study. Author.]

1 The plate under study was brought to the notice of the present author by Sri Jagdish Chandra Singh Chauhan of Deval-thal.

2 It is to be noted that the present author has examined several mediaeval copper plates belonging to this region and so far not a single example has shown any traces of a seal having been affixed to it.

3 For example copper plate of king Jñāna Chandra, Śaka 1341; of king Bhīshma Chandra, Śaka 1427; of king Rudra Chandra, Śaka 1519; of king Trimalla Chandra, Śaka 1550 etc.

4 The characters of the present plate are similar to that of Bhāratī Chandra's copper plate of Śaka 1368 and therefore, it may be suggested that even if the copper plate under study is spurious it may have been forged subsequent to the defeat and ultimate death of Raikā Kalaṇa Mala. However, taking into account the thin population of Kālī Kumāon region as compared to the vast stretch of land a large tract of which remained unpopulated till independence, there is a remote possibility of this kind of forgery,

5 Atkinson, E.T., *The Himalayan Districts of the North Western Provinces*, Reprinted under the title *The Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. II, part ii, p. 529. (Delhi 1973).

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 528–29.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 530–31 and 553.

20 INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALUKADAPURA CHIEFS

M D. Sampath

The two inscriptions of the Kalukaḍapura chiefs under study are the Chiyanāpalli grant and the stone record from Chintalaputtūru. They have been included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the years 1983-84* and *1905* respectively. The copper-plate was collected by Dr. A. V. Jeyachandran, the then Director of the Museums, for the T.T.D. Museums. With the permission of the curator of the Museums, I could copy the charter for the office of the Chief Epigraphist.

The set, to judge from the impressions, consists of three plates, each measuring 23 cms long and 11.10 cms wide with a ring hole of 1.5 cms in diameter. The ring which is cut on the one side has a seal bearing Sun, Moon and Aṅkuśa on one face and knife and axe on the other. The first plate is missing as can be known from the fact that the invocatory and the beginning of the *praśasti* are not available. The text on the other two plates runs to 87 lines in all. The total weight of the plates is 4 Kgs.

The charter which belongs to the chief of Kalukaḍapura is composed in Sanskrit and Telugu languages and engraved in Grantha script assignable palaeographically to the 12th century. While the stone records of this family found in the Cuddapah-Anantapur regions are all in Grantha, Tamil and Telugu, the present charter, the second one known so far of this family, uses the Grantha script even for the portion which is in Telugu language.

The extant portion of this charter begins with the mention of the ruling king and the date and then proceeds to state the details of transaction that took place on the specified day. The *praśasti* portion and the genealogy of the ruling chief are lost. The Śaka date given in chronogram is *abdhi-vāridhi-chandr-ēndu* (*i.e.*, 1144) which along with other details Chitrabhānu, Māgha and *ardhōdayakāla* do not correspond regularly. But the Christian equivalent that could be suggested is 1223 A.D.

It records the grant of the village Chiyanāpalli situated in the middle of Mahārājavāṭi by king Sōma-bhūpa to *Rājaguru* Dakshiṇāmūrtti, for the fame of Mādala, and who, in turn divided the grant into 32 shares and distributed it among several brāhmaṇas. The record enumerates the endowment by specifying the above 32 *vṛittis* or shares and the names of the donees who obtained the same. Then follows the details of the boundaries of the gift village. The record ends with the imprecatory verses and the sign-manual *Siddhanātha*.

This charter is of historical interest. The name of the queen of Sōma-bhūpa is mentioned. The relationship and the identification of this chief with the other members of the family is to be examined in the light of available epigraphs. It is

noteworthy that the usual epithets of the Kalukaḍapura chiefs are conspicuously absent for Sōma-bhūpa, the ruling chief and the donor of the charter under discussion. To consider whether he is an earlier member of the Kalukaḍa family, it is necessary to examine the records of this period. The Tāḍapatri[1] inscription of Udayāditya[2] and the Chintakāmanta grant[3] of Sōmēśa furnish in their genealogical portions one Sōmidēva, as the son of Gaṅga (*or* Kali Gaṅga). This Sōmidēva[4] was born to Kali Gaṅga and his queen Bettāmahādēvī. Venkataramayya has quoted Śaka 1120(1199A.D) as the date of the Tāḍapatri record. This is the only date known for Udayāditya. The proximity of the date of our charter (1223 A.D.) to that of the Tāḍapatri record and the nearness of Mahārājavāṭi to Tāḍapatri lend support to the identification of Sōma-bhūpa with Sōmidēva, the father of Udayāditya. It is also likely that Sōma-bhūpa ruled as late as 1223 A.D., assisted by his son Udayāditya, who was his junior contemporary.

The grant village Chiyanāpalli may be identified with Chinnachāpalli while Gollapalli to its north is its namesake in Kamalapuram Taluk of Cuddapah District. Uppalakuṇṭa, Nallagaṭṭu, Mādasamudramukaṭṭa. Īdalaṅkuṇṭa, Amaḍadōnalu, Vimmakachēnitalapu-vōnalu and the path way leading to Kṛitagaṭṭu-kanuma, described as boundaries are topographical features rather than place-names.

The subjects of the grant village were the Telugu knowing people. The knowledge of the people is reflected from the use of Telugu in the boundary portion.

Text[5]

First Plate[6]

Second Plate : First Side

1 m - īśvaraḥ । pari pālayati dharā

2 triñ=chitrēṇ=aikēna

3 Sōma - bhūmīśē । āsūryya ni -

4 bha - janānāṁ - khara - kara - bādhā -

5 kathā - kathaṁ - kathaya । tasya Sō -[7]

6 ma - mahīpasya mahishīn - Mādal - āhva -

7 yā । Kalā - valīva Sōmasya

8 tasyaishī bhāti bhūtalē

9 sa Sōma - bhūpō dharmm=ātmā -

10 kālēpy=arddhōdayē sūdhiḥ

11 Samast=ōdaya samprāptai -

12 r=ddhātri dāna samut - sukaḥ । Śakā -

13 bdhau - vārddhi chandr=ēndu Chitrabhānu -

14 samāhvayē । vatsarē Mā -

15 gha - māsātē kālē ch=ārddhō -

16 dayābhidhē । Mahārājavā -

17 ṭi mahīmaddhya - bhāge purā Chiya -

18 nāpallik=ēti prasiddhām । a -

19 dād - vāri - dhārā samētam dvi -

20 [8]jēbhyas=tatō Mādal - āhakhyā (āhvayā)

21 khyāti māttām । akshiṇy=ā -

22 gāmi - nikshēpa - nidhi - pāshā -

23 ṇa jīvanaiḥ [śulka - sma] -

Second Plate : Second Side

24 .raka - sāmya .. tējō rā -

25 ja karaiy=yātām । tasmin

26 grāmē dvā - triṁśat - bhāga - bhā -

27 jitē rājagurōrd=Dakshiṇā -

28 mūrtti - yad - avasy=Ātraya - gōtra -

29 [9]sy=aikā - vṛittiḥ Bhāradvāja - gō -

30 trasya Kommanappan=asy=aikā -

31 vṛittiḥ tat - gōtrajasya vi -

32 shṇadēvasy=aikā - vṛittiḥ tat -

33 [10]gōtrajasya Sōmanāthasy=ai -

34 kā - vṛittiḥ tat gōtrajasya - Chāma -

35 nappan=asy=ārddha - vṛittiḥ Gōtama -

36 gōtrasya Kāmadēvas=ārddha - vṛi -
37 ttiḥ Kauśika - gōtrasya Trivi -
38 kramasy=aikā - vṛittim Śāṇḍila -
39 gōtrasya Bhāskaradēvasy=ai -
40 kā - vṛittiḥ Kāśyapa - gōtrasya
41 [Pa]llayāyya(ryya)sya - vṛittinām̐ s=
42 ārddha - saptakam tasy=ānujasya A -
43 tyanāryyasya - vṛittinām̐ s=
44 ārddha - saptakam Ka[ṇva] - gōtrasya
45 Siddhanāthasya - vṛitti dvayam Vashi -

Third Plate : First Side

46 shṭha - gōtrasya Kaniyāryya -
47 sy=aikā - vṛittiḥ tat - gō -[11]
48 trajasya Bhairavāryyas=ai -
49 kā - vṛittiḥ tat gōtrajasya
50 [12]Kēśavāryyasy=aikā - vṛittiḥ
51 [13]Kōśika - gōtrasya Śrī Kṛishṇadēva -
52 sy=aikā vṛittiḥ Śrīvatsa - gō -[14]
53 trasya Narasiṁha - bhaṭṭasy=aikā -[15]
54 vṛittiḥ tat - gōtrajasya Mūrāri -
55 dēvasy=aikā - vṛittiḥ Bhāradvā -
56 ja - gōtrajasya Mallanāryya
57 [16]sy=aikā - vṛittiḥ Kās(Kāś)yapa -
58 [17]gōtrajasya Kākaṇā -
59 ryyasya ēkā - vṛittiḥ a -
60 asya grāmasya prasiddha - sīmā sa -

61 masta (d)dēśaj=Āndhra - bhāshayā -

62 likhyatē । ī ūri tūrppu sī -

63 ma Uppalakuṇṭa āgnēyā -[18]

64 naku Nallagaṭṭu dakshiṇā -

65 naku sīma Mādasamudramu - kaṭṭa

66 nairityānaku Īdalaṇku -

67 ṇṭa paḍumaṭi sīma Amaḍadō -

Third Plate : Second Side

68 nalu vāyavyānaku sīma Vimma -

69 kachēni - talapu - vō -

70 nalu - baṇḍa uttarānaku sī -

71 ma Gollapalli - polamēra - vā[19] -

72 ṁgu īśānyānaku sīma Kṛitaga -

73 ṭṭu - kanumaku vachchina bha(ba)ṇḍi -trō[20] -

74 va iti chatus - sīmā - kramaḥ sva -

75 dattām(ṁ) para - dattāṁ vā yō ha -

76 rēta vasundharām । shashṭir= varsha - sa -

77 hasrāṇi vishṭhāyāñ - jāya -

78 tē kṛimiḥ [।।*] Sāmānyō=yan=dharmma -

79 sētu (tur)=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kā -

80 lē pālanīyō bhavatbhiḥ (dbhiḥ) [।*]

81 sarvān=ētān bhāginaḥ (vihaḥ) - pā -

82 rtthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō

83 yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ [।।*] sva - da -

84 ttā[d*]=dviguṇam(ṁ) puṇyam(ṁ) para - da -

85 tt=ānupālanam(nē) [।] para - datt=ā -

86 pahārēṇa sva - dattam(ṁ) ni -

87 shpa(pha)lam(ṁ) - bhavēt [॥] Śrī Siddhanātha

The second record[21] engraved on a pillar at the entrance of the Indrēśvara temple at Chintalaputtūru is in Telugu language and characters with a verse of imprecation at the end in Grantha script.

A few orthographical errors are seen in the record particularly in places where Sanskrit words are used. (e.g., *Indrēśvara* for *Iṁdrēśvara* in line 7 ; *Kēsava* for *Kēśava* in lines 4-5), etc.

The inscription states that Murāri - Kēśavadēva - mahārāju and Sōmidēva - mahārāju made a joint donation of the village Vedullacheṟuvu for the *aṁga - raṁga - bhōga* of the deity Indrēśvara of Pushpagiri on the occasion of their visit to this place and by their predecessors in the cyclic years mentioned.

In the year Prabhava, *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* [Āha*]vamalladēva is stated to have granted *vṛitti* to the same deity. This year may be equated with the Christian equivalent 1147 A. D. Subsequently, his grandson [Sōma*]nātha endowed the village Kommalūru and [Du]ṟitapuṭṭapāḍu with sowing capacity (*vittuvaṭṭi*) for the same god in the cyclic year Raudri. This corresponds to 1200 A.D.

The chiefs Murāri-Kēśava and Sōmidēva bear the epithets similar to the ones borne by Sōmidēva of the Māchupalle[22] record dated Śaka 1178 (1255 A.D.). It is not impossible to identify Sōmidēva of the present record with that of the donor of Māchupalle inscription.

The date Vibhava, Āshāḍha śu 10, Monday given for Murāri - Kēśava and Sōmidēva may be equated with 1268 A.D., June 31. But the *tithi* was Chaturddaśi.

From the present record it is clear that Sōmidēva II took virtual control over the Kalukaḍapura area before 1255 A.D. It is quite possible that after 1251 A.D., i.e., the date of Durgī inscription,[23] that the Kalukaḍapura chiefs gained the territory of Vallūru-paṭṭaṇa or the Mārjavāḍi (Mahārājavāḍi) area back into their hands from the Kāyastha Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇī, the feudatory of the Kākatīyas. The gift village Vedullacheṟuvu is not identifiable. But it may be located somewhere in the Mahārājavāḍi territory. Sōmidēva II could gift this village, for, the Kāyastha and the Kalukaḍapura chiefs were no longer in inimical terms with each other.

Text[24]

1 Svasti Śrī mahāmaṁḍaḷē -

2 sva(śva)ra bhuja - bhaḷa(bala) Vīranārāyaṇa.

3 ni[ssaṁ]ka - pratāpa Kalukaḍapura -

4 varādhīśvaruṁḍaina Murāri Kē -

5 sa(śa)vadēva - mahārājunu Sō -

6 midēvarājunu Pushpagi -

7 riki Iṁdrēsva(śva)radēvaraku mrokki vachchi

8 Vibhava saṁvassara (vatsara) Āshāḍha śuddha daśami

9 Sōmavāramu nāṁḍu dēvara aṁga -

10 raṁga - bhōgānaku Vedullacheṟuvu dhā[rā*] -

11 pūrvvamu sēstimi ॥ Prabhava - saṁva -

12 sva(tsa)ra Jē(Jyē)shṭa(ṭha) śuddha bideya bri(bṛi)[ha*]spativāra -

13 mu nāṁḍu svasti śrīman - mahāmaṁḍa -

14 lēsva(śva)ra[d-Āha*][va]malladēva - mahārājulu

15 Iṁdrēśvaradēvaraku ichchinadi vri(vṛi)tti U[25] -

16 nāttadēvaṁḍu Iṁdrēśvaradēvaraku aṁ -

17 ga - raṁga - bhōgānaku ichchinadi Kommalū -

18 [ru] Raudri - saṁ[va*]chchara Vaiśākhi śuddha - aksha -

19 tadiyanāṁḍu mrōkki ichchinadi [Du]

20 ṟitaputṭapāḍu [vittuvaṭṭi] cheṟichi -

21 navāṁḍu gaṁga - kaṟu[ta] kavila po -

22 ḍichina pāpāna pōyinavāru

23 maṁgaḷa mahā śrī śrī śrī ॥

24 sva - dattaṁ para - dattaṁ vā yō

25 harēta vasunda(dha)rā[ṁ*] [।*] shashṭiṁ

26 varusha (varsha) - sahasrāṇi vi -

27 shṭāyāñ - jāyatē - krimi[ḥ*] [॥*]

Notes :

1 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 116 ff.

2 *SII.*, Vol. IV, No. 798.

3 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 177 ff and plates.

4 The chief Sōmidēvarasa referred to in the Hoḷal record (*Ibid.*, p. 177, n. 4) cannot be identified with Sōmidēva I in the absence of the usual titles of the Kalukaḍapura chiefs. Also the date of this record is about 50 years earlier than the date known for this chief earlier.

5 From impressions.

6 The first plate is missing and hence the beginning cannot be restored.

7 The length of ō in *Sō* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

8 The medial ē sign of *jē* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

9 The ē sign of the *syai* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

10 The ē sign of the *gō* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

11 The medial ā sign of *gō* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

12 The medial ē sign of *Kē* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

13 The ē sign of the *Kō* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

14 The medial sign is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

15 The medial ā sign of *kā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

16 The *ai* sign is engraved at the end of the previous line.

17 The ē sign of *gō* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

18 The medlai ā sign of *yā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

19 The medial ā sign of this is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

20 The length of *o* in *tro* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

21 *ARIE.*, 1905, Nos. 319 and 320.

22 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. II6.

23 *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 334.

24 From inked impression.

25 Read – Sōmanātha.

I am thankful to the Director of Epigraphy and to the Chief Epigraphist for permitting me to publish these inscriptions.

21 IDENTIFICATION OF TRIBHUVANA MAHADEVI-THE DONOR OF DHENKANAL PLATE

Devanand Chopade

The epigraphic records of the Bhauma-Karas of Tōsalī reveal that in that family there were more than one ruling queen who call themselves as Tribhuvana Mahādēvī (Mistress of the Three Worlds) which appears to be an imperial sobriquet. The queen of Gayāḍa Śāntikaradēva I who ruled over Tōsalī for sometime after the death of her son Śubhākaradēva III has been described as Tribhuvana Mahādēvī. She is known as Gōsvāminīdēvī in the Baud copper plate charter of Pṛithvī-mahādēvī and also in a Dhenkanal copper plate charter. Pṛithvī Mahādēvī in her records has called herself as Tribhuvana Mahādēvī. She may be taken as Tribhuvana Mahādēvī II and Gōsvāminī as Tribhuvana Mahādēvi I in the genealogy of the Bhauma-Kara family. The donor of the Dhenkanal charter, referred to above, was also a ruling queen who was the wife of Lalitahāra and who also is known to us only by her sobriquet Tribhuvana Mahādēvī. Scholars like Pt. B. Mishra[1] and K.C. Panigrahi[2] hold that Lalitahāra of the Dhenkanal charter was identical with Gayāḍa Śāntikara I and the donor of the charter was no other than Tribhuvana Mahādēvī I. We, however, differ from this view of these larned scholars and are of opinion that the donor of the Dhenkanal grant is different from Gōsvāminīdēvī Tribhuvana Mahādēvī I. She ruled over Tōsalī after Pṛithvī Mahādēvī Tribhuvana Mahādēvī II and, therefore, may be taken as Tribhuvana Mahādēvī III In this paper I have thrown some new light on this problem in support of this view.

The whole controversy on the point revolves around the reading of the date portion of the Dhenkanal copper plate grant issued by Tribhuvana Mahādēvī, wife of Lalitahāra and daughter of Śrī Rājamalladēva, "the ornament of the Southern quarter" (*dakshiṇa-āśā-mukhatilaka*). The date has been written in symbolical letters. D.R. Bhandarkar[3] and B. Mishra[4] originally read the symbols representing the date *Lu Chu* and interpreted these as 160 i.e. 896 A.D. Later on, however, B. Mishra being unable to adjust Tribhuvana Mahādēvī in Bhauma year 160 changed his previous reading and took it as 110[5] A.D. Sircar[6] read the symbols as representing *Lu Tha* which is interpreted as 120 and according to this view Tribhuvana Mahādēvī of Dhenkanal plate would be taken to be the wife of Śāntikara I alias Gayāḍa and the same as Tribhuvana Mahādēvī I. This view has been subsequently accepted by K. C. Panigrahi[7] and others.[8]

The two symbols are, however, clearly written as *'Lu'* and *'Chu'* and even if the second symbol is taken to be *'Tha'* the medical *'U'* attached to it cannot be overlooked. The symbol *'Thu'* like the symbol *'Chu'* also stands for 60 while *'Lu'* stands for 100. Thus even if the

symbols are taken to be *'Lu Thu'* (as D.C. Sircar[9] puts it) instead of *'Lu Chu'* they would well be interpreted as 160. Sircar appears to be conscious of this reading and so while strongly supporting B. Mishra's theory he remarks, "The date of the Dhenkanal plate issued as a ruling queen by Tribhuvana Mahādēvī called Sindagaurī and represented as the daughter of Rājamalla of Southern country and wife of Lalitahāra is doubtful. It may be read as 160 although 120 will also not be an improbable reading".[10] But as pointed out above, the reading of the symbols cannot be other than 160 and Tribhuvana Mahādēvī, the issuer of this plate must, therefore, be taken as the widow of Śivakara III alias Lalitahāra. Both Mishra and Sircar have interpreted the symbols as 110 and 120 respectively in order to identify Tribhuvana Mahādēvī with her namesake, the wife of Gayāḍa Śāntikara I, but this king has not been called Lalitahāra in any of the plates so far available to us.

The problem under study may well be examined in the light of the genealogy of the engravers employed by the Bhauma rulers, as indicated in the following table :

No.	Copper Plate	Date	Ruler	Engraver
1	Talcher Plate	149	Śivakara III Lalitahāra	Rabhasavardhana the son of Rāmavardhana
2	Baud Plate	158	Pṛithvī Mahādēvī Tribhuvana Mahādēvī	Harivardhana the son of Rabhasavardhana
3	Dhenkanal Plate	160	Tribhuvana Mahādēvī	Harivardhana the son of Rabhasavardhana

The above table shows that Harivardhana was the engraver of the plates issued in the year 158 and 160, while his father acted as the engraver in the year 149. Very likely Harivardhana had not attained the age and experience of becoming an engraver in the year 149 and so his father was employed for the purpose by the ruling King Śivakaradēva III. It is thus highly improbable to regard Harivardhana as an engraver of the copper plate issued either in the year 110 or 120. In this consideration the Dhenkanal copper plate engraved by Harivardhana, the son of Rabhasavardhana cannot be ascribed to those two dates. It may, therefore, be assumed with much amount of certainty that Tribhuvana

Mahādēvī of Dhankanal plate was ruling in the year 160 aed she was the widow of Lalitahāra Śivakara III.

Those who place Dhenkanal plate before Baud plates issued in the year 158 hold the view that Harivardhana, the engraver of Dhenkanal plate was an ancestor of his namesake who engraved the Baud plate in the year 158 and also that Harivardhana, the engraver of Chaurasi plate dated in the year 73 was an ancestor of his namesake who engraved the Dhenkanal plate.[11] The second view may be correct in view of the fact that Harivardhana who engraved the Chaurasi plate in the year 73 (and whose father's name is not mentioned) could not have been in active service for more than eighty years. But the other statement that the engraver of Dhenkanal was an ancestor of his namesake who engraved Baud plates goes against the facts recorded in the inscriptions. Harivardhana of Baud as well as Dhenkanal plates was one and the same person in view of the fact that in both these plates he has been mentioned as the son of Rabhasavardhana.[12] Baud plates and Dhenkanal plate were written one after another and may be placed after Talcher plate of Śivaraka Lalitahāra. The Talcher plate of Śivakara III, Baud plate of Pṛithvī Mahādēvī and Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahādēvī can, therefore, be placed chronologically and that goes well with palaeographical considerations also.[13]

Our view that Tribhuvana Mahādēvī of Dhenkanal plate was ruling in the year 160 and that the she was the widow queen of Lalitahāra Śivakara III and not Gayāḍa Śāntikara is strengthened by other internal evidence of the plate in question. The plate records that when eminent kings like Unmatta Kēsari, Gayāḍa and others passed away and the Kara family was bereft of illustrious rulers at that time was born Lalitahāradēva who married the daughter of Rājamalla.[14] This indicates that Lalitahāra, the husband of Tribhuvana Mahādēvī came considerably later than Gayāḍa Śāntikara I and they can in no way be taken as identical. The former was the husband of Tribhuvana Mahādēvī I and the latter was that of Tribhuvana Mahādēvī III.

Lalitahāra in the Dhenkanal plate is described as a devout worshipper of Śiva (Paramamāhēśvara). Although we do not get any copper plate of Gayāḍa Śāntikara I to know about his faith yet it is apparent that he was a Buddhist like his predecessors and immediate successors. In the beginning the Bhauma-Kara kings were Buddhist by faith. Long after Gayāḍa Śāntikara I, Śubhākara IV (year 1'5) is found to be the first king of the family who is described as a *Paramamāhēśvara. So Paramamāhēśvara* Lalitahāra cannot be identified with Gayāḍa Śāntikara I and, therefore, Tribhuvana Mahādēvī wife of Lalitahāra was different from Tribhuvana Mahādēvī, wife of Gayāḍa Śāntikara I.

Moreover, Lalitahāra in the Dhenkanal plate has been described with sovereign titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramamāhēśvara.* No record of Śāntikara I is available to us to know about his status. But the inscriptions engraved in his

kingdom during his rule do not describe him as a soverign ruler. He is mentioned as Śrī Śāntikara.[15] The absence of sovereign title was apparently due to his feudatory status under the Pālas who had uprooted the elder branch[16] and probably installed the younger branch represented by Śāntikara I. In this way the respective titles rule out the possibility of the identification of Lalitahāra with Śāntikara I.

The Dhenkanal plate refers to a woman ruler named Gōsvāminīdēvī of the Bhauma Kara family.[17] Gōsvāminīdēvī could not have been other then Tribhuvana Mahādēvī, wife of Śāntikara I who set the example for subsequent women rulers like Pṛithvī Mahādēvī Tribhuvana Mahādēvī of Baud plates and Tribhuvana Mahādēvī of Dhenkanal plates.

K. C. Panigrahi draws our attention to a woman ruler of Bhauma family, referred to in the account of Arab geographer Ibn-Khurdaḍehih in 846 A.D.[18] She might be Tribhuvana Mahādēvī I (cir 845-850 A.D.), wife of Gayāḍa Śāntikara I. Another Arab geographer Ibn-at-Fakih in his account of 902 A.D. also refers to a woman ruler of this family and says that there was plague and famine during her reign.[19] The Dhenkanal copper plate of the year 160 (896 A.D.) which was issued to bring down rains in order to avert the calamity of drought and famine corroberates the Arab account and lead us to believe that a women ruler was ruling Tōsalī in 902 A.D. and she was no other Tribhuvana Mahādēvī III, the donor of Dhenkanal copper plate.

In the light of above discussion we assume that there were three queens in the Bhauma Kara dynasty who had the title of Tribhuvana Mahādēvī. The first was the wife of Gayāḍa Śāntikara I, the second of Śubhākara IV and the third of Lalitahāra Śivakara III.

Notes :

1 B. Mishra, *Orissa Under Bhauma Kings*, pp. 23-31

2 K.C. Panigrahi *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas, and the Somavamsis of Orissa*, pp. 29

3 *E.I.*, Vol. XX, App. p. 192

4 *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 109

5 B. Mishra, *Op. Cit.*, p. 24

6 *E.I.* Vol. XXIX, pp. 220 ff

7 K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, p. 80

8 B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their times* p. 49

9 *E.I.* Vol. XXIV, pp. 220 ff

10 *J.I.H.* Vol. XXXIV, p. 296

11 B. Das, *Op. Cit.*, p. 50

12 *EI.* Vol. XXIX, pp. 210 ff ; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 419 ff

13 *OHRJ* Vol. VIII, p. 152

14 B. Mishra *Op. Cit.* p. 28

15 *Ibid.*, p. 20 ; *EI.*, Vol. XIII, p. 167

16 *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 165

17 B. Mishra *Op. Cit.*, pp. 23–31

18 K.C. Panigrahi *Op. Cit.* pp. 87 ff

19 Harvey *History of Burma*, p. 10

22 KARNATAKA TRADE CONTACTS WITH NORTH INDIA IN EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD

S. L. Shantakumari

It is well known that from the very early days in our history there have been contacts between Karnataka and North India. Among other things trade was one of the important reasons for such contacts. There has been continuous movement from South to North and vice versa, of people from different walks of life, like merchants, scholars and religious men. There are interesting instances of wealthy and philanthropic merchants, who earned the good will of northern kings by supplying valuable goods. Such contacts helped, in addition, to the economy in building up a good will between different peoples and our merchants are credited to have achieved this cultural synthesis in the ancient past. There are copious references in inscriptions of Karnataka to such messengers of good will who contributed to the economic growth of different regions.

A flourishing merchant family from Banavara (Arasikere taluk, Hassan district, Karnataka State), is reported to have spread its activities throughout the country. A person named Kammaṭada Chaṭṭaśeṭṭi of this family is said to have been dealing in such valuable goods as horses, elephants and pearls, which he supplied to many kings of the country.[1] It is also said that he carried on his trade through (*bahitra*) ship as well.[2]

An inscription, though couched in poetic language tells us that he collected goods from one region and sent it to another, thus covering all the region in the East, West, South and the North.[3]

A merchant from Kēraḷa named Kuñjaśeṭṭi, settled in Dōrasamudra, was a highly respected merchant dealing with precious stones. He had trade contacts with different kingdoms like the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Chēra, Māḷava, Kaliṅga. It is said that he used to supply the reouirements of these kings without involving any delay.[4] Because of his contribution to the growth of the reputation of his master, he was given the honour of chief merchant (*śeṭṭivaṭṭa*) of the kingdom. Incidently, it is worthy of note that he helped his master in war as well, which earned him the title *subhaṭa*. This messenger of good will was also responsible for establishing cordial relationship between his own master Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa and a king (Ballaha) of the North.[5] It is difficult to establish who the contemporary Northern king was. He had also earned the reputation of being a past master in judging the qualities of precious stones. A shrewed businessman, as he was, he could read the minds of the customers who were the rulers and other highly placed people and pleased them by supplying their required goods.[6]

Such merchants used to meet with many dangers on their hazardous journey from region to region which they carried almost on foot with their caravans behind.

They had to face the wild animals in thick forests and robbers on the hill side. A record dated in 1176 A.D. speaks of a Sōviśeṭṭi, a merchant from Yammiganur (Hirekerur taluk of Dharwad district, Karnataka State) who is said to have met with death on his way back home from North India in an encounter with the robbers on the way. To quote the passage here :

> Bamma-śeṭṭiya magam Sōvi-śeṭṭi Badagalu byavahārakkāgi bahalli Aṇṇigereya holadalu kākaḷḷaru tāguvalli palaroḷāntu taḷtiṟidu suralōka prāptan-āda

These are not stray instances of trade activities. The activity was continuous from almost the Harappan days. Though there are big gaps in our knowledge of such activities we are all familiar with the merchant guild from Aihoḷe (Hungund taluk, Bijapur district). Ayyāvoḷe-500 controlled trade of South India and influenced the North as well. They carried on the trade by road (*Pādamārgga*) and water (*Jalamārgga*) and dealt with all sorts of commodities like essentials and luxury.[8] They have earned the reputation of being the trade masters of *shaṭkhaṇḍa* or six continents. A detailed study of this subject would indeed bring out a very interesting and useful result.

Notes :-

1. *EC.*, Vol. V., Ak. 22.
2. *Ibid.*, ll 37-39 Hariya hayakke tōḍ-enipa hēsha chayaṁgaḷan-Indra dantiyoḷ dore-enisippa dantigaḷan abhradoḷ-āda supāṇi muttinoḷ sari enisippa muttugaḷan eyde bahitrade taṁdu māṟuvaṁ dharaṇipargoldu Kaṁmaṭada .... Chaṭṭapa Seṭṭi saṁtataṁ ....
3. *Ibid.*, ll 40-42 Harid āśābhāṁḍamaṁ Vāruṇige naḍasuvaṁ Vāruṇī vastuvaṁ vistāradiṁ Indrāśeyoḷ perehchisuvan-osedu Kaubheriyiṁ dyumnamaṁ nōḍire Yāmyā bhāgadoḷ saṁdhisuvan-esava mōlyaṁgaḷaṁ Yāṁyadiṁd-Uttaradikkiṁgaṭṭuvaṁ nōḍ-anupama vaṇijaṁ Dāseyaṁ dōshadūraṁ
4. *Ibid.*, l. 32 Chērana Māḷavēndrana Kaḷiṁgana Chōḷana Pāṁḍya bhūtaḷādhārana Muṭṭid-oṁdavasaraṁganāgale Pāndu mālpa vistārada ....
5. *Ibid.*, l. 30. Teṁkalu Hoysaḷa chakravarti baḍagalu tāṁ Ballahaṁ mechchi taṁnaṁ koṁḍāḍuvinaṁ samant-ubhaya-rāyargg-cyde saṁdhānamaṁ muṁ kayivattisi sandhivigrahada meyyiṁ satyavākyaṁ ....
6. *Ibid.*, ll 29-30, nānā-ratna parīkshey-eṁbud-adu taṁn-oṁdaṁga-aṁtirkke dhātrī-nātharkkaḷa chitta-vṛittigaḷan ichchāmātradiṁballan eṁbī nistārada Kuṁjanambi-negaḷdaṁ .....
7. Unpublished material.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 118, ll 34-36 Shaṭ-khaṇḍa-maṇḍaḷaṁgaḷaṁ pokku bhadrahasti jyātyaśva Iṁdranīla chaṁdrakānta muttu-māṇikya-vajra-vaiḍūryya-gōmēdhika-pushyarāga-padmarāga-pavaḷa-marakata-kakkētana-nānā-vastugaḷaman-ēlā-lavaṁga-agaru-chaṁdana-karppūra-kastūri-kuṁkuma malegaj-ādi sugaṁdha-drabyaṁgaḷu ....

23 FOLKLEGENDS: THE ORIGIN OF THE SILAHARAS

Binda Paranjape

Past is marked by some events which later on are called 'historical'. Memories of such historical events are preserved in popular folk literature. Hence the folklore becomes a valuable source for the study of history. Epigraphical record is another important source for the historical studies. However, an independent study of either of the two may be incomplete and faulty. To avoid this, the best method will be to put them together and cross-examine thoroughly. The records of the Śilāhāras of North Koṅkaṇ provide one such opportunity.

From the Śilāhāra records we learn about two different stories of the origin of the dynasty. In Prince-Of-Wales Museum Plates Of Chhaḍvaidēva one meets with the first invention of the origin of the Silāhāras.[1] The record says, that, one person named 'Silara' saved the sea from the arrows of Parśurāma, which made that person a great hero and the family got his name. The relation between the sea and Paraśurāma is quite well-known. In fact, the whole of western coast was reclaimed by Paraśurāma by frightening the sea with his arrows. Stopping the arrows of Paraśurāma can be taken as a great deed. But the difficulty here is, Paraśurama is always described as an undefeated warrior.[2] The story of one 'Silara' stopping Paraśurāma does not get any scriptural approval. As, till the middle of the tenth century A D., Silāhāras were outsiders to the land they ruled and they did not understand the severity of this invention. The land and, the brāhmaṇas, who are gods on the earth, of Koṅkaṇ owed their existence to Paraśurāma. It would have been difficult for them to accept an outsider claiming his victory over Paraśurāma. Probably, this is what happened and within few years after this a new story was invented. Paraśurāma legend was totally rejected since then.

The earliest reference to the second story about the origin is recorded in the 'Janjira Plates Of Aparājita, Saka 951'.[3] The story goes like this: One Vidyādhara named Jīmūtavāhana saved the Nāgas from Garuḍa by offering his body. Thus, the 'āhāra' i.e. food offered on the 'Śilā' i.e. rock became 'Śilāhāra'. The family was named after this deed. It is a well-known practice that the kings traced their geneologies to some ancient hero from the Rāmāyaṇa or Mahābhārata. Here, we see one feudatory dynasty tracing its origin to a Vidyādhara. The question is, why this particular hero and no other was taken as the legendary founder of the dynasty ?

One simple explanation to the question above would be that the word 'Śilāhāra' was given a trial, a possible meaning was drawn and a suitable hero

figure was found out from the popular literature, who could justify the meaning. Thus, the Vidyādhara hero, who makes an appearance in the Kathāsaritsāgara, which presupposes Bṛihatkathāmañjarī, or in Nāgānanda, the famous play by Harsha, was given the first place in the Śilāhāra geneology. The Śilāhāra kings were Śaivites by faith. The Vidyādharas are taken to be the Śivagaṇas. Thus, the relation between the Śilāhāras and Vidyādharas also must have been appreciated by the kings.

All these simplistic explanations should be taken in the light of one fact, that, that the story was invented after the Śilāhāras had settled in Koṅkaṇ. To begin with they were the outsiders. Hence, somewhere the attempt must have been made not only for finding out a great ancestry but to please the local people also. Earlier it is shown how the Paraśurāma legend was taken up and later on rejected. In both of these legends the land of Koṅkaṇ is given lot of importance. As Koṅkaṇ is called 'Paraśurāma-bhūmi', it is also called the land of the Nāgas or Pātāla. The Śilāhāras, through the story of Jīmūtavāhana could tell the local people how closely both of them were related. At the same time, as rulers they could maintain their superiority as well. The Vidyādhara hero was the protector and the Nāgas were the protected, symbolising the people of Koṅkaṇ and the Śilāhāras.

The story of the origin of the Śilāhāras throws light on a process of cultural assimilation. The ruling and the ruled is the basic common factor but how the ruling made themselves acceptable among the ruled is very interesting to see. Sometimes it was by force, but in most of the times it was by a smooth process. In this process, the role of the folk-literature is very important. The folklore makes the heroes popular which comes to a handy use of the rulers for proving themselves superior. However, over a period of time they loose their identity and become legendary figures themselves. Folk-literature continues flourishing.

Notes :

1 CII., Vol. VI., p. 8.

2 Sahyadrikāṇḍa.

3 CII., Vol. VI, p. 17.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of the Agrahāras Karnataka, 400-1300 by S. Leela Shanta Kumari, published by New Era Publications, Madras-600 028, 1986, pp VIII+180, price Rs. 60/-

There seems to a shift in or stress on the socio-religious and socio-economic history of early, medieval Karnataka in the recent years which augurs well for the future. Infact there are already a couple of scholarly monographs on some aspects of social history of Karnataka. *History of the Agrahāras, Karnataka*, 400-1300 which is the doctoral dissertation (1970) of Dr. S. Leela Shanta Kumari is a welcome addition to the growing field of historical research.

As the title tells us, the book under review deals with a history of the Agrahāras in early, medieval Karnataka. Agrahāras (or *Agrāhāra* as pointed out by D.C. Sircar) represents the settlement of learned brāhmaṇa colonies in villages for their maintenance with a view to enable them to discharge their scriptural duties. It should be pointed out in the same tone that in agrahārā-villages lived other people as well, belonging to different castes and communities following various professions as evidenced by the *okkalu* (cultivators), *nakharas*, *seṭṭis*, (traders), *nāvida* (barbars), *kammāra* (blacksmiths), *baḍiga* (carpenter) *agasa* (washerman), *kumbāra* (potter), *taḷāri* (village guard/official) and the like. The Agrahāras in early, medieval Karnataka, in addition to being the pre-eminet centres of higher education and learning both religious and secular rendered service to the promotion of socio-religious and cultural life of the people in their own way. Dr. S. Leela Shanta Kumari has made a sincere attempt to elucidate, within seven chapters of her monograph, some of these aspects of Agrahāras.

In the first chapter is given a brief introduction with special reference to the nature, scope, sources for the study, and plan of the work all within seven pages.

While bringing into historical focus, in the second chapter, the formation of the Agrahāras, various interpretations of the term as given by scholars like D.L. Narasimhachar, J.C. Ghosh, N.G. Majumdar, A. Appadorai, D. C. Sircar, G.M. Moraes, R.K. Mookerji and K.V. Ramesh have been summarised with a note at the end that none of these interpretations is comprehensive and hence the need for a more plausible explanation of this term. The author tries to trace not only the Gurukula origin but pre-Mauryan antiquity of the Agrahāra before proceeding to give an account of different processes of the formation of the Agrahāras like creation of new settlement (Vīradēvanahaḷḷi), conversion of ordinary village into an Agrahāra (Hulleyakere), clubbing of two or more villages into an Agrahāra Bīravūr + Bidiravaḷḷi = Kyāsapura). The purpose of instituting Agrahāras as *puṇyakārya* by the religious minded people for the promotion of learning and culture,

different names like Mahāgrahāra, Piriyagrahāra, Anādiagrahāra, Paramēśvaradatti agrahāra, Uttamadagrahāra, naming patterns after the names of the donors (Baḷḷāpura), deties (Dēviyahosūr), mythological and epic heroes (Janamējayadatti agrahāra, Rāmachandradatti agrahāra) are also highlighted. This chapter concludes with brief account of the residents of the Agrahāras, in addition to the learned brāhmaṇas, including Jainas (Lokkiguṇḍi Agrahāra) and Buddhists (Dambaḷa).

Third chapter describes the educational activities of the Agrahāra, syllabi of study, maintenance of teachers and students, their qualifications, gradation in educational system, methods of study, fine arts and other useful arts, education of princes, education of women and what is more fascinating, the higher studies in Kannaḍa despite scanty epigraphical sources for such a study.

In chapter four is initiated a discussion on the management of the Agrahāras with reference to the Niyatakara Agrahāra (Navile), Sarvanamasyadagrahāra (Dēgave), the respective roles of the *Mahājanas* and other officials, special previleges and rights. Similarly economic aspects like ownership of land, peasant proprietorship, divisions of shares in Agrahāras as *hasuge* or *tattu*, redistribution of land or *parivartana*, preemption of the *Mahājanas*, could have been elaborated in this chapter itself.

The penultimate chapter (6) is devoted to a brief account of other cognate institutes like Brahmapuri, Ghaṭikāsthānas, Maṭhas in order to highlight the significance of the Agrahāras in their proper perspectives. It is really relevant to compare and contrast these with the Agrahāras. The author rightly points out as to how these organisations supplimented the works of the Agrahāras in the field of education.

In the last chapter (7) are incorporated notes on some of the famous Agrahāras of early, medieval Karnataka viz Gadag, Hāvēri, Kōṭavumachige, Navalgunda, Tiḷavaḷḷi, all in Dharwad district, Aūli (Belgaum), Kuknūr (Raichur), Salōṭgi (Bijapur), Iṭgi (Gulbarga), and Tāḷagunda (Shimoga). Some of the criteria like the chronological order, regional destribution, socio-culcural significance should have prompted the author to give this account in a more balanced way so that some of the equally important Agrahāras like Beḷaguli (Ballary) which had witnessed a continuous socio-economic life for about four hundred years as evidenced by over thirtyeight inscriptions of the area and some of the Agrahāras of southern Karnataka too would have been included in this book on the history of the Agrahāras of Karnataka.

Seventh chapter is followed by Bibliography and a very brief subject index. But before doing so, all the new findings, observations, assessments of this highly important social-institution and reasons for their decline could have formed the the conclusions had the author chosen to draw such logical conclusions at the end of the book. Similarly the translations of the Kannaḍa passages give extensively in the book, could have further added to the proper understanding their of

contents on the part of the non-Kannaḍa speaking scholars. Needless to add that a more exhaustive index and proper diacritical markings would have definitely enhanced the utility of the book.

Ultimately what impresses us is the author's arduos research with all sincerty and perseverance. She has spared no pains in making a judicious use of the rich and varied epigraphical source material. The locational map of Karnataka showing important Agrahāras in early, medieval period (page 123) adds to the relevance of the research work. A brief but authoritative foreword by an erudite scholar, Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director, Epigraphy, has enhanced the prestige of the book. Being a well documented and lucidly written monograph of Dr. S. Leela Shanta Kumari, HISTORY OF THE AGRAHĀRAS, KARNATAKA, may be received as an important and useful contribution to the social history.

The reviewer would like to congratulate Dr. S. Leela Shanta Kumari for this painstaking and good piece of research work which is aptly dedicated to late Prof. P.B. Desai, a renowned historian of Karnataka.

The book with a simple but attractive jacket is elegantly printed (though not devoid of printer's devil) and promptly published by S. Srinivasan and N.S. Raghavan of the New Era publications, Madras (price is a little on a higher side). They too deserve our appreciation.

H. R. Raghunath Bhat

Introduction to Indian Epigraphy by G.S. Gai, published as Occassional Monographs series No. 32 by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Manasa Gangotri, Mysore-570 006, pp. 61 with Foreword and Preface and five pages containing charts showing the development of various Indian scripts and one page containing errata, price Rs. 9/-

In this short book, Dr. G.S. Gai, has tried to give in brief an outline of Indian Epigraphy and its various aspects. The book is divided into four chapters. Chapter I deals with the fundamentals of epigraphy, the importance of epigraphy as source material, the emergence of writing in India, the discovery of Indus script and the attempts made by Indian and foreign scholars to decipher it. In the second chapter, the origin and development of Aśōkan Brāhmī has been dealt, with in detail. In the thirds chapter Dr. Gai gives valid reasons why Prakrit came to be used as the medium in early inscriptions right from the time of Aśōka. In chapter four, the nature and importance of Indian epigraphy is discussed at length. There are five useful charts appended at the end showing the development of various Indian scripts. A few misprints have however escaped the attention of the author like *vaj saneyi Samhita* in p. 13 etc inspite of the author providing an errata. Diacritical marks have not been put in a number of places like *Āranyaka* in p. 13 and *Vāsishtha Dharma sūtra* in p. 14. The book has been nicely printed and the get up is good.

The book, we are sure will serve as a useful book of introduction to students

of epigraphy. We congratulate the author for bringing out such a nice and handy book.

Madhav N. Katti
and
S. Subramonia Iyer

Uṭṭankita Sanskrit Vidyā Araṇya Epigraphs, Vol. I, Vidyāraṇya, Prepared by the Uṭṭankita Vidyā Araṇya Trust, Published by Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay 400 007, Rs. 50/-

The Uṭṭankita Vidyā Araṇya Trust has brought out its long waited first volume. The volume aptly entitled Vidyāraṇya contains the texts and translations of sixteen inscriptions bearing on or belonging to the time of the celebrated scholar-saint who adorned the court of as many as three early kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty. The book is divided into three parts. The first part contains an elaborate, lucid and scholarly account of Vidyāraṇya's life and contribution. The second part comprises the texts and translations of sixteen inscriptions which have a bearing on the sage. While the majority of them come from Karnataka, a few of them belong to Tamll Nadu. The translations are excellent. Part III contains exhaustive explanatory notes for many of the terms and obstruse words occurring in the inscriptions. The value of this excellent book would have been further enhanced had there been an index at the end.

The printing and get up of the book are excellent. The scholarly world eagerly looks forward to see the remaining volumes to be brought out by the trust.

S. Subramonia Iyer

History of Koṅgu by V. Ramamurthy, published by International Society for the investigation of Ancient Civilization, Madras-86, 1986, pp. 391. Rs. 75/-,

The study of regional history has become a necessity to understand the exciting periods of India's political history. From this point of view Sri. Ramamurthy's work on the 'History of Koṅgu' is indeed a welcome addition to the growing list of such regional studies. The painstaking labour put in, the exhaustive literary sources that have been exploited and the epigraphical sources collected for the proper understanding of the history of this region from the known date, have rendered the present work valuable.

Sri Ramamurthy's work deserves to be considered as a welcome addition for the study of detailed literary sources. The source materials that are thrown open to us are very rich. They have been tapped well for the evaluation of the history of the territory, its people and geography in the first two chapters. A survey of the prehistoric sites and the prehistoric wealth of this region emphasized in the third chapter help us to draw a conclusion that Koṅgu country was the place of early man. He has critically examined the obscure features and tried to offer suggestions for the understanding of the early history and the history of the well-known interrugnum period in the next three chapters. The author has been able to achieve at the identification of different chieftains of the Saṅgam and post-Saṅgam period.

This region has yielded some Brāhmī inscriptions, which throw welcome

light on the political history of the Chēras and the identification of their secondary capital. The author has brought out the importance of these records and identified the kings mentioned in the Pugaḷūr inscriptions with those figuring in Tamil literary work *Padiṟṟuppattu*. He has not taken note of a record in Arachchalūr cave, which marks the beginning of Tamil in the process of evolution from its parental script. The other important record which escaped the eyes of the author is the Tamil inscription from Ammaṉkōyilpaṭṭi. It fits into the period of the Kaḷabhras, though there is no mention of their rule over Koṅgu eountry.

The author has drawn our attention to the point that king Viṇṇa-varman of the Iruḷappaṭṭi record belongs to Atiya family. Atiyaṉ Viṇṇattanār of the *Ahanāṉūṟū* fame was considered by him as a distant ancestor to this king. The latter was an author of a verse. It is not known whether he was also a chief. The names Atiyaṉ and Viṇṇattaṉār, sounds like the names of two chiefs, who belong to this region. Much discussion on the importance of Pūlāṅkuṟichchi record has gone into the pages of this work, though it falls outside the Koṅgu region. However, reference to Koṅgu-nāḍu in this record deserves special mention.

The author has deeply dwelt into the political condition of the Koṅgu country after the overthrow of the Kaḷabhras. Discussion on the supremacy of the imperial powers, the independent control of the different rulers over Koṅgu, and their relationship with Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas figure in the pages of last two chapters.

M. D. Sampath

PLATE I

BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM VISAPUR

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

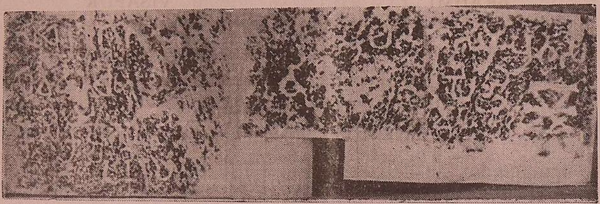


Fig. 4

Fig. 5

PLATE II
AHICHCHHATRA SEALING

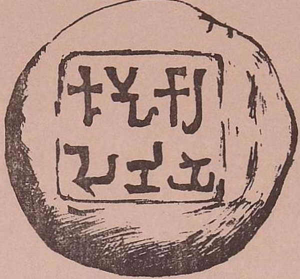
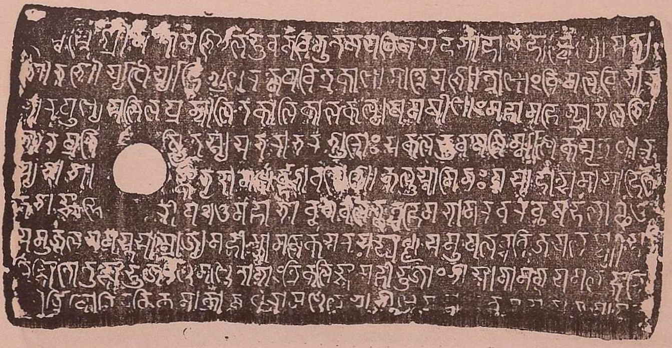


PLATE III
YUDDHAPURA GRANT OF RAJARAJA DEVENDRAVARMAN, ŚAKA 998
iiia



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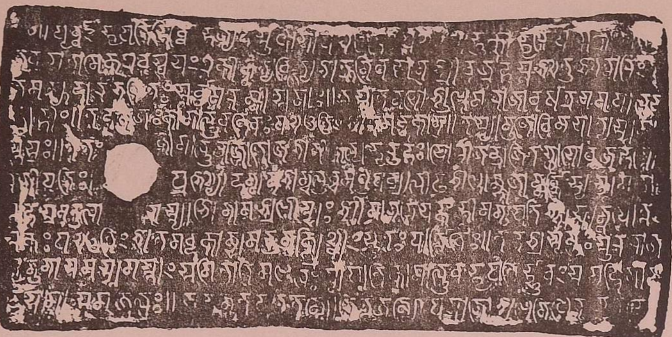

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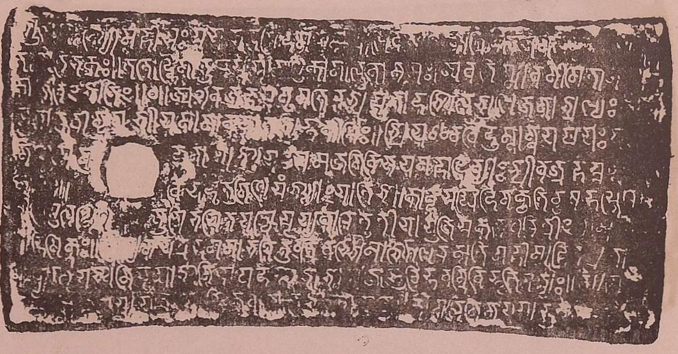

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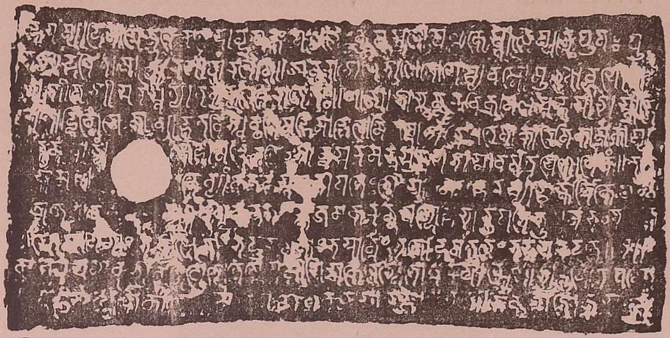

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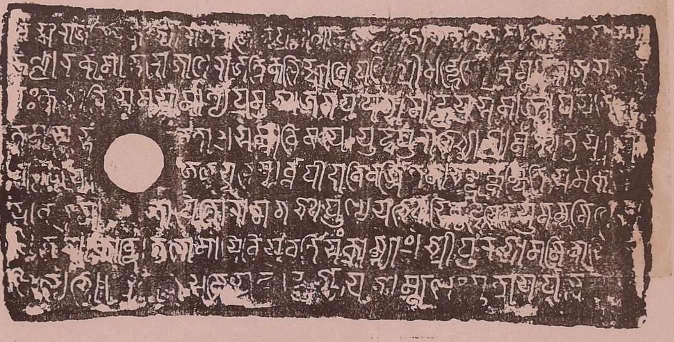
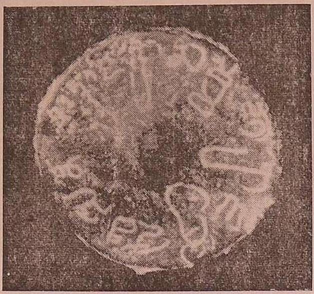


PLATE IV

HYDERABAD PLATES OF VAKATAKA DEVASENA, YEAR 5

SEAL



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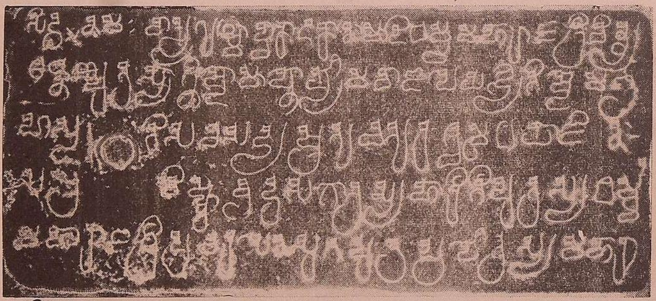

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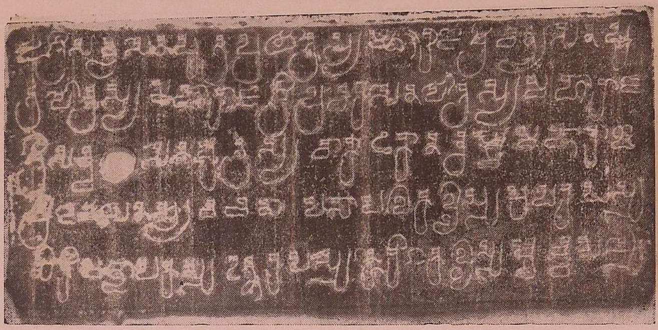

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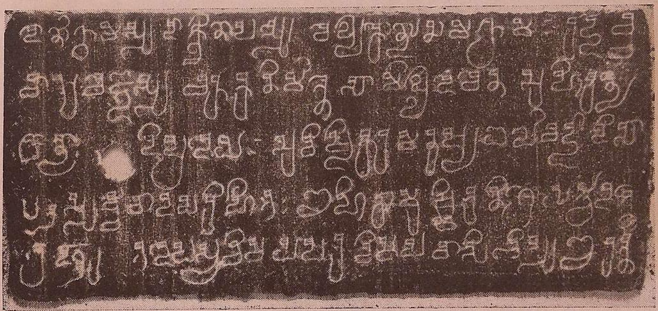

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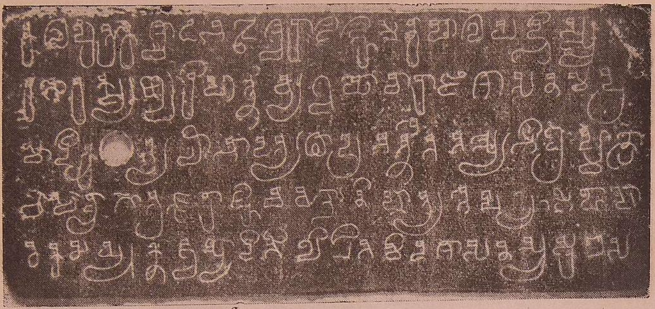

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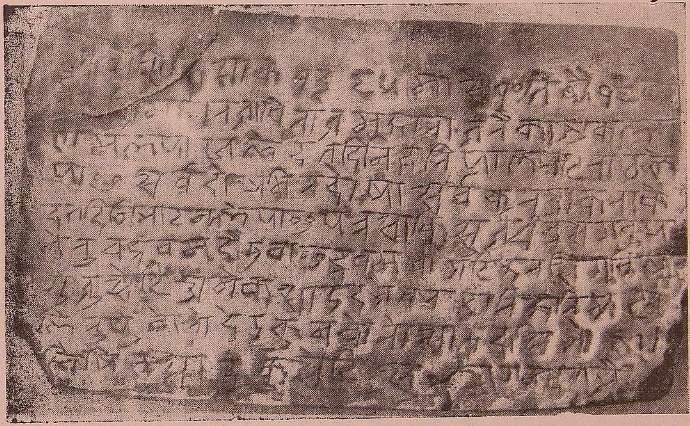
PLATE V

PROTOHISTORIC INSCRIPTION FROM DVARAKA

PLATE VI

DEVALTHAL COPPER PLATE



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